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THE RIGHT REVEREND
ANDREW BECK, A.A.
COADJUTOR BISHOP OF BRENTWOOD

The Editor feels sure that he interprets the wishes of the readers of THE CLERGY REVIEW in offering a special word of homage and congratulation to Bishop Beck on their behalf. His Lordship has been one of the REVIEW's most assiduous and valued contributors since its inception in 1931; and the onerous duties which his outstanding talents have caused to be successively laid upon him have never been allowed to interfere with this apostolate of the written word, which he has rightly regarded as of the first importance. While assuring His Lordship of our warmest good wishes, and of our prayers that his work in the diocese of Brentwood may be fruitful and he himself be blessed in its performance, we venture to express the hope that THE CLERGY REVIEW will continue to benefit by such leisure as his high office may still allow him to devote to literary work.

FAREWELL TO MACHABEES

AS the traveller, lost in some impenetrable jungle, and convinced that he will never make his way out of it alive, sits down to blaze on a tree-trunk the record of his wanderings, for the benefit of some luckier explorer in times to come; so the translator, seeing the end before him of a task which can never be complete, is fain to draw breath, to look round him, and to meditate on the reflex principles which have guided him thus

far. Dr Goodspeed, leaving the Old Testament to be finished by an indifferent team of collaborators, went straight on from the Apocalypse to his *Problems of New Testament Translation*. And shall not I, with Heliodorus' quip still ringing in my ears, be pardoned if I take time off to watch my own proceedings? Not, heaven knows, in the hope of disarming my critics; but with the more modest ambition of satisfying the unprejudiced onlooker who asks, in no unkind spirit, what exactly I think I am getting at.

A division of the subject readily presents itself. Your examination of conscience, when you are doing any translating work, is obviously grouped under three heads: Is it accurate? Is it intelligible? Is it readable? When you are dealing with the Old Testament, those three hurdles form a perspective of increasing difficulty.

(i) *To be accurate*, in rendering any passage of the Old Testament, you have to be perpetually exercised over the exact meaning of Hebrew words (and, consequently, of their Latin token-equivalents) which have been rendered inexactly ever since the time of Coverdale. I have already tried to explain, in these columns, how difficult it is to find a satisfactory substitute for "justice".¹ But it is not only "justice" that has no exact equivalent in English; most of the commonest words in the Old Testament, if you give them their traditional values, are always a point or so out of the true. *Nephesh* often means "appetite"; and elsewhere it nearly always means "life" rather than "soul". *Shalom* is much more like "health" than "peace", and much more like "prosperity" than either—I cannot remember Reuss ever rendering it by *paix*. *Emeth* is what we mean by "loyalty" or "honour", not what we mean by "truth". *Chesed* is almost any kind of goodness, and the Vulgate's *misericordia* is often misleading; with the adjective, matters are still worse. *Yeshuah* can be "victory" as well as deliverance. *Am* does duty for "army" as well as "people". And so on. Those of us who were brought up on the Authorized Version have got it firmly in our heads that there were three main types of occasional sacrifice, the meat-offering, the sin-offering, and the peace-offering. But the whole point of the "meat-offering" was that it consisted entirely

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1940, Vol. XIX, p. 13.

of vegetable food; the "sin-offering" arose, commonly, from a fault of inadvertence; and whatever the "peace-offering" was exactly, editors seem agreed that it had nothing to do with peace. Always you are conscious of trying to open a door with a key that doesn't quite fit.

And this creates an especial difficulty, because so many chance phrases of the Old Testament have been encrusted in the Liturgy, and often in a false perspective. *O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate*; the words have got to be used every time we celebrate a virgin's feast. But they have nothing to do with virginity; they are an attempt to console people who die childless. Are you to keep the meaning of the original in its true setting? Or are you to desert the original and preserve the liturgical overtones? The title *Sol justitiae* occurs in the Litany of the Holy Name; is one bound, in loyalty to the *Ecclesia orans*, to give the phrase a personal twist in Malachy iv, 2? It sounds all right, because the words are familiar, to talk about the Sun of Justice rising with healing in his wings. But the awkward fact is that Malachy says "in her wings"; obviously he wouldn't have made *shemesh* feminine if he had been thinking of a personal theophany. The word "his" occurs in our versions because it is pre-Jacobean English for "its".

You get the same trouble even with New Testament quotations. The word "faith" expresses two different ideas, as entertained (consciously) by Habacuc and by St Paul. Did Osee mean "mercy" when he contrasted *chesed* with sacrifice (vi, 6)? Modern translators give you "piety"; and it is quite possible that our Lord (Matt. ix, 13) was interpreting his thought. I confess that my New Testament quotations do not always tally verbally with their Old Testament originals. (But how can they? Cf. Eph. iv, 8.) In a hundred ways, the vocabulary of Judaism shades off, by imperceptible gradations, into that of Christianity. "Life" to us means eternal life; to the Old Testament authors it meant, commonly at least, living to be a hundred. *Da mihi animas!* has been the slogan of much apostolic endeavour; yet Challoner did not hesitate to substitute "Give me the persons" for Douay's "Give me the souls" in Genesis xiv, 21; was he right? "The spirit of the Lord"—how often you hesitate about printing, or not printing, a capital S! Douay gives you

a capital in Isaias xi, 2, but in Challoner it is lower case. All your pious instincts make you want to emphasize, throughout the Old Testament, its half-conscious foreshadowing of the New. All your scholarly instincts make you want to reproduce the exact *nuance* of the eighth century B.C. To which of those instincts should the translator yield, if he wants to be "accurate"?

Minor discrepancies between the Vulgate and the Hebrew, or between the Vulgate and modern commentators on the Hebrew, abound certainly, but are not of great significance. If the Vulgate tells me it means a hedge-hog and the commentators tell me it is a bittern, I am inclined to let St Jerome have his way, as long as my naturalist friends inform me that the hedge-hog does really make a nest. The principle is the same; the loneliness of a ruin is underlined by the presence of shy animal life, whether of bitterns or hedge-hogs. It would be otherwise if you translated from the Septuagint; in one passage, where the received text gives you "a holy person", the Septuagint has "hyena". It seems the safest principle to follow the Latin—after all, St Jerome will sometimes have had a better text than the Massoretes—except on the rare occasions when there is no sense to be extracted from the Vulgate at all. You cannot, I think, be tied down to the statement that Saul was one year old when he came to the throne, merely because that is the construction which the Vulgate has put on an obviously defective Hebrew original.

(ii) *To be intelligible* when you are translating a document, it is not enough to produce a series of sentences, each of which, taken by itself, has a meaning. You have got to show the argument running through your piece, or you have not fulfilled your contract; you have not translated.

There are some sentences, even in the Authorized Version, which must be pronounced unintelligible. My favourite one is Amos iv, 2 and 3: "The Lord God hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo, the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fish-hooks, and ye shall go out at the breaches, every cow at that which is before her, and ye shall cast them into the palace, saith the Lord." The translator who shows up that kind of thing must not be allowed to get away with it. The sulky schoolboy's defence, "Well, that's

what it says", is no defence at all. He must be sent back to his place and told to do better. There are not many sentences like that in the Authorized Version; sentences, I mean, which make no impact on the mind. In the Douay they are regrettably common; a verse like "Shall not the land tremble for this and everyone mourn that dwelleth therein, and rise up altogether as a river, and be cast out, and run down as the river of Egypt?" is just an ordinary verse in the Douay, not a museum piece. But a non-significant verse like that, here and there, is no great matter; you can pick up the thread again, if there is a thread to pick up. The trouble is that so often the thread itself is lacking.

Cut the Old Testament in half, at the end of Esther, and you may say that all the first half is intelligible, being either historical narrative, or legal enactments. There are difficult passages, to be sure, like the specifications for building the Tabernacle, or the Temple. But you know where you are all the time. The second half contains Machabees, which is narrative again; contains the Psalms, Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, in which you do not expect, from the nature of the case, a continuous argument. All the rest of Part II, except Daniel and Jonas, is unintelligible unless you can translate it, not verse by verse but chapter by chapter (or at least section by section) so that it makes an impression on the reader's mind. Has it, in fact, been so translated? Take the rattling of forks in the refectory for your answer.

The book of Job is a sustained piece of forensic pleading; the subject under debate being, Whether misfortunes are, in every case, a divine punishment for some fault wittingly or unwittingly committed? Nobody would claim that Job and his friends stick to the point with complete relevance; their own rhetoric carries them away. But the argument is going on all the time; and a good translation ought to be such that, running your eye down a few verses, you can see which side is arguing, without having to look up the rubric. Whether such a translation can be done, I don't know; I am very far indeed from feeling that I have done it. But in so far as you fail, the book of Job ceases to be what it was meant to be, a philosophical dialogue, and becomes a collection of purple patches, mainly about natural history.

Ecclesiastes and Wisdom are also philosophical arguments, though not arranged as dialogue. The former is comparatively easy, but you have to watch your step all the time, or you find yourself missing the emphasis and therefore losing the thread. Wisdom is so difficult that I toyed with the idea of writing a thesis to prove it was written by St Paul, still unconverted. It is largely an appeal to past history, but for some reason the author prefers to write history without using any proper names. Quite certainly, it is the office of the translator to put them in, when their absence makes the allusions intolerably obscure.

With the Canticle of Canticles, we are on more debatable ground. Some critics (Reuss, for instance, who was not a fool) have maintained that there is no unity here, it is only a collection of love-ballads. But you are conscious of special pleading. No, if I were allowed to mark a lacuna in the text at one point (the Chariots of Aminadab, where *something*, surely, has gone wrong with the text), I would be prepared to put it on the stage tomorrow. To insert stage directions in a translation would clearly be vulgar; nor would all commentators agree about the division of the lines. But you want to handle it very carefully, and make your footnotes very lucid, if you are to light up the intensely human document that is enshrined in all that reliquary of mystical interpretation.

And then, the prophets! Practically a quarter of the Old Testament, and yet, apart from Daniel and Jonas, hardly a chapter you can read with your feet on the fender. Here, there is no question of a logical sequence of thought, carefully worked out; the Spirit blows where he will, not abiding our question. Yet beware of holding, in defiance of St Jerome himself, that the prophets spoke in ecstasy; that way lies Montanism. Evidently the prophets—even Zachary—expected their contemporaries to understand what they were talking about. Only, their contemporaries had the advantage of us; they knew where one prophecy ended and another began, knew the occasion on which each was delivered, and the full details of the situation which led up to it. For all this, the modern reader is at the mercy of a set of commentators, who take fantastic liberties with the text. They assume from the first that it has reached us in the form of a broken-up jigsaw, and proceed to reassemble it; they make up

their minds from the first what the prophet's message is, and ring off, with dark allusions to the Machabaean period, when he starts talking about anything else. (What they never seem to allow for is a *defective* text; and yet in real life a copyist is far more likely to drop things out than to foist things in.)

You can, I think, trace a continuous structure of thought in Jeremias and Ezechiel, Aggaeus and Malachy; in Joel, too, if you could be quite certain whether the invaders were Assyrians or locusts. Elsewhere, there are such sudden alternations of threat and promise, hope and fear; the dating of events is so uncertain, the grouping of them so confused; there is so little to show whether the punishment of the heathen and the restoration of Israel will happen the day after tomorrow or a few centuries hence—perhaps the best you can do is to treat your text as a series of prophetic fragments, and decide as judiciously as you may where the breaks come. Your lot as a translator will be all the happier, if you remain unconvinced by those modern speculations about “metre” which have mapped out Hebrew prophecy in a pattern of strophes and antistrophes—but let that pass.

That the prophets, translate them how you will, can ever be easy reading, I neither believe nor pretend. I do claim that you can do something, and are bound to do all you can, towards making them less unintelligible. The transition from one sentence to the next must be made logically clear, even at the cost of introducing words which are not there, but are implicit in the context. Your vocabulary must be chosen, not so much by reference to the use of this or that word elsewhere in the Old Testament, as by reference to the needs of this particular passage—token-words will not do. You must cast your sentences into a form which will preserve not only the meaning but the *rhetoric* of the original, or the flying wrack of imagery will pass you by.

(iii) *To be readable*—reader, have you ever tried to be readable? Ever tried to compile a document which people would look at, not because they had to, but because they wanted to? There is not much point in being accurate and intelligible, if nobody is going to read you.

Or rather, I distinguish. You may translate the Bible, as you might translate a French book on atomic physics, for the sake

of the *student*. Please God, there will always be earnest people, perhaps one Catholic in a thousand, who will *study* the Scriptures; but the reader and the student (*ii Machabees ii, 26*) are different people. Where are the Catholic *readers* of the Bible? When did you last come across one of your friends with a Bible open in front of him? In old days, non-Catholics used to read the Bible as a devotional exercise, much as we said the rosary. That is all over; nobody of my age who assists at the public solution of a cross-word can understand modern hesitations about the identity of Bildad the Shuhite, or Tiglath-Pileser. We are in an odd situation. Nobody reads the Bible, Popes and Bishops are always telling us we ought to read the Bible, and when you produce a translation of the Bible, the only thing people complain about is your rendering of the diminutive snippets that are read out in Church on Sundays. "Of course," they add, "the book is all right for *private reading*"—in a tone which implies that such a practice is both rare and unimportant.

To be sure, the Old Testament is not everybody's money—parts of it, anyhow. Nothing in the world is going to make Leviticus newsy. But I do not see that the translator has acquitted himself of his task until he has made *Paralipomenon* as good reading as Berners' *Froissart*, and *Ecclesiasticus* as racy as Florio's *Montaigne*. I am convinced that the thing can be done, however much my own efforts may have fallen short of the target. And I am convinced that the thing is worth doing; what reason have we to suppose that the Scriptures can only be edifying if they are approached by way of the British Museum?

One difficulty confronts you at the very outset: the whole Hebrew way of putting things is diffuse, whereas we, more and more, grow accustomed to terseness. A language which talks about "the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob", so as to make it clear that Isaac and Jacob are in the genitive, encourages you in the habit of leaving nothing to the imagination. Nine times in the fifth chapter of Genesis we are told that such and such a patriarch "begat sons and daughters"; is it legitimate to convey precisely the same information by adding the postscript "All these had other sons and daughters besides"? Even more leisurely is the progress of Numbers vii. Verses 12 to 89 describe the gifts made by the Israelites at the

dedication of the Tabernacle; by verse 17 we have finished the inventory of Juda's contribution, a silver dish, a silver bowl, and so on—only to find that Issachar made precisely the same contribution, which is repeated in full, and so on all through the twelve tribes, up to verse 83. The remaining six verses are occupied with adding up the totals. Obviously the translator must not avail himself of the useful word "ditto". But is he bound to repeat exactly how much the dish weighed, exactly how much the bowl weighed, exactly how old the lambs were, every time? There is a great deal of "The word of the Lord came unto me saying, Go and speak unto this people, and thus shalt thou speak unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord"; you cannot omit these formulas, but can nothing be done to scale down the effect of them?

But all that is of secondary importance. What matters is that the Bible should speak to Englishmen not only in English words, but in English idiom. Any translation is a good one in proportion as you can forget, while reading it, that it is a translation at all. Do not be deceived when your friends tell you that they *like* Bible-English. Of course they do, reading or quoting a few sentences; there is a slow-moving thoroughness about it which conveys a sense of dignity—you get the same in an Act of Parliament. But if they would try to read a chapter on end, which they never do, it would rapidly become tedious, and the attention would begin to wander; why? Because they are reading a foreign language disguised in English dress. Just so, an indifferently translated French book gets you down; *en effet* is translated "as a matter of fact" when it ought to be translated "sure enough", and *d'ailleurs* is translated "anyhow" when it ought to be translated "if it comes to that". Your interpreter is almost imperceptibly failing all the time to hit the nail exactly on the head.

Easy enough to notice, as most of the modern translators do, when there is some positive Hebraism to be avoided; when turns of phrase like "into the hand of" or "by the hand of" can easily be exchanged for normal English equivalents. It is a harder part of the translator's job to notice the negative effect produced by the absence of English mannerisms. Here is an interesting question you may put to an unsuspecting friend: "Which is

commoner in the Old Testament: the word *danger* or the word *peril*?" You will find that "peril" has it; the concordance tells you that it occurs once in the Old Testament (Authorized Version), whereas "danger" does not occur at all. "Jeopardy" comes three times. Now, it is nonsense to suppose that the Hebrew mind has no such notion as danger; why is there no word for it? The answer can only be, that in Hebrew you express the same idea by a nearly-allied word which has to do duty, also, for slightly different ideas; a word like "affliction", "tribulation" or "trouble". That means, that a good translation of the Old Testament will sometimes give you "danger" or "peril", where the stock translations give you "affliction", "tribulation" or "trouble"; sometimes, where the stock translations give you "fear" or "terror". The rendering which does not mention danger or peril jars imperceptibly on the mind.

More often, the difference involved is not one of mere vocabulary; it depends on the whole build of a language, the whole strategy of its rhetoric. To take a single example—your modern reader is impatient to know what happened, whereas your ancient author likes to spin out the story, and keep his audience in suspense. If A wants to borrow money from B, the sort of sequel you get in the Old Testament is, "And B answered him, saying, Yesterday and the day before, when the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, he commanded us that we should not turn away from our brethren when they were in need . . ." and so on and so on, leading up to a refusal five verses later. What the modern reader wants is, "But B refused; Yesterday and the day before, he said . . ." and so on. The translator may feel bound to give a literal rendering; is it not his duty to preserve the integrity of a literary monument? But his reader has switched on the wireless.

Perhaps the subtlest irritant of all is the Hebrew habit of parallelism. I know I shall get into trouble for saying this. The Hebrews, I shall be told, when they wanted to write poetry deliberately repeated themselves, in some such formula as *Et intonuit de caelo Dominus/Ét Altissimus dedit vocem suam*. You must reproduce that exactly in English, or you will not give the reader any idea what Hebrew poetry was like. My version of the Psalms has been given bad marks for this; Fr Gruenthaler com-

plains that "the lines are not printed to bring out the parallelism and remind the reader that he is dealing with lyric poetry in a metrical form". And Mgr Barton says "There is really no excuse for this attempt to ignore the metrical quality". Now, if I were prepared to take up that challenge as a mere point of typography, so far from not having any excuse, I have the excuse of a paper shortage. To print the supposedly "poetical" parts of the Old Testament all broken up into lines, as the moderns do, increases your newsprint length by something like one page in ten. That is all very well, if you are publishing hand-books for students. But if you are doing a translation which is meant to be read, not studied, and hope, consequently, that it will have a wide sale, the waste of space becomes serious. Again, the student in his library is accustomed to deal with bulky volumes. But if you hope that your translation will be handled on buses and in bed, you do not want to saddle the reader with extra weight. There is no harm, now and again, in being practical.

But I will come clean; I have tried, in great part, to obliterate the traces of parallelism not merely in the printing of my translation but in the writing of it. I quite understand people like Fr Gruenthaler and Mgr Barton, who are concerned with students, wanting to concentrate attention on the technical layout of Hebrew poetry. But what the reader wants, I insist, is to get the illusion that he is reading, not a translation but an original work written in his own language. And to our notions of poetic composition, these remorseless repetitions are wholly foreign; when you have read a page or two on end, they begin to cloy. *Ars est celare artem*, and I have been at pains, not seldom, to conceal the art of my original. Thus, Isaias lx, 4, reads (in a modern translation) :

Your sons shall come from far,
And your daughters shall be borne on the hip.

Obviously, the sex-discrimination is not intended; the older children, boy or girl, would walk, the little ones, girl or boy, would be carried. You want, therefore, something different; if you were translating from the Hebrew (the Vulgate necessitates a departure from it) you would write "Sons of yours,

daughters of yours, come from far away ; carried at their mothers' sides they come." It is quite true, that does not show the working of the Hebrew sentence; but why should it? You are not mugging the thing up for an exam; you want to read the kind of thing an Englishman would write, if he were encouraging a modern set of Displaced Persons with the promise of restoration.

"Modern"—I have a confession to make. When I embarked on the Old Testament, I thought I could treat it as I treated the New; aim at a sort of timeless English that would reproduce the idiom of our own day without its neologisms, and perhaps have something of an old-fashioned flavour about it. The further I got into the Old Testament, the more surely it was borne in on me that you could not (as they say) swing it. The New Testament was new, the Old Testament was old. The New Testament was written, mainly, by people who thought in Aramaic and used Greek as a kind of Esperanto; it has not the vigour of a living language. The Old Testament was written mainly, by people who were using their own tongue, and expressed themselves naturally in it. A different treatment was called for, or the whole thing went desperately flat. What opened my eyes, I think, was a rendering by Reuss of the phrase *Nigra sum sed formosa*. He went at it in a businesslike way, as the French do, and produced "Je suis blonde, mais je suis jolie".

"Je suis blonde, mais je suis jolie"—yes, it is all right, there is no slang there, no neologism, and yet . . . It is not, somehow, the Canticles. Or take that very painstaking piece of work, the Old Testament companion to Goodspeed. Nahum ii, 9, reads:

Plunder silver, plunder gold;
For there is no end to the stores,
An abundance of all sorts of valuable articles.

Marked out in lines, you see, to give the poetical effect; but does it give a poetical effect? Nahum has disappeared, and you are left with the language of a cloak-room notice. You cannot make your rendering into poetry by just chopping it up into lengths.

No, what is needed, if we are ever to have a first-class translation of the Old Testament, is a return to the past; to an

earlier and more vigorous tradition of English, such as the old translators had, Florio, and North, and Holland, and Urquhart, and L'Estrange, and Adlington. They really managed to "English" the classical and foreign authors they dealt with, because their own language was still fluid, and could adapt itself to shades of thought; it was not yet cast into a mould. I say "if we are ever to have a first-class translation"; that is not mock-modesty about my own efforts. I seriously doubt whether I have had the courage or the skill to go back, sufficiently, to those old models. But I have felt, all along, the impetus. Take the book of Proverbs, for example; why does it all read so flat? Because your Hebrew author always writes at full length, whereas the English tradition is to reduce the aphorism to a minimum of words. "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to them that send him"—that is not English; the Englishman says "Faithful messenger, harvest snow", and leaves it at that.

May I give a single, short example, to illustrate the kind of problem I have been discussing? In the Authorized Version, slightly more lucid as usual than the Douay, the 65th chapter of Isaias begins as follows:

I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not; I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name. I have spread out my hands all day unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts.

At first sight, it would appear that verse 1 refers to the call of the Gentiles, verse 2 to the rejection of Israel; and this allegorical interpretation is put on the passage in Romans x, 20. But modern editors are agreed that the Massoretic text is wrongly pointed; LXX and Vulgate are right in giving "that did not call upon my name" at the end of the sentence. And they are agreed that verse 1, no less than verse 2, refers to the rejection of Israel. The point throughout is that God made himself available to the Jews; if you may put it in that way without irreverence, he was like a grown-up playing hide-and-seek with his favourite children, peeping out from his hiding-place and making their task of search fool-proof, only to find that they had got

tired of the game, and were not looking for him at all. In the context, that is to say, verse 1 means something wholly different from what the older versions tell you; they are inaccurate, because they are over-literal. How to correct the inaccuracy? This was my first attempt, made several years ago, when I was new to the job:

I let myself be questioned by men who do not begin by asking for me; I let myself be found by men who do not search for me; it is to a nation which never calls on my name that I say, I am here, I am close at hand. All day long I spread out my hands to a rebellious people, that goes astray in following its own devices; a people that is ever openly defying me.

I claim, here, some merit for ingenuity. You can read verse 1 so as to make it apply, in St Paul's way, to the Gentiles; you can also read it so that it will apply to the Jews, and lead on naturally to verse 2. The rendering is accurate, and just intelligible. But what a rendering! How is anybody going to read through sixty-six chapters of Isaias, all Englished in so stilted and so pedantic a fashion? I might ask the printer to make good my short-comings:

I let myself be questioned
By men who do not begin by asking for me;
I let myself be found
By men who do not search for me—

no doubt I could sell my shoddy goods with a little window-dressing like that; Father Gruenthaler would be delighted. But is it worth it?

This is how the passage stands at present:

So ready I to answer, and ask they will not; so easy to be found, and search for me is none! A people that will not call upon my name; else my own voice should whisper, I am here, I am close at hand! Outstretched these hands of mine, all the day long, to a nation of rebels, straying this way and that as the mood takes them, openly defying me.

That is its present form; I do not say, its final form; nearly all this process of revision has been done in railway-trains. But

I hold to it that you have got to do something of that kind if you want to let the reader into the mind of Isaias.

Legentibus, si semper exactus sit sermo, non erit gratus. I wonder where St Jerome found that thought-provoking sentiment to end Machabees with? It is not in the Greek.

R. A. KNOX

THE SUNDAY EVENING SERVICE

RECENT comments in the Catholic Press on this much-discussed topic of the best form of Sunday evening service have induced me to take my courage in both hands and write this article, in the hope that it may stimulate others to express their opinions. Most of us, I think, do realize that the average Englishman, in spite of his admiration for a "nice choir", is much too shy or self-conscious to sing out in church. As a result, most of us can produce nothing better on a Sunday evening than a few rather pathetic hymns sung rather timidly by an apparently apathetic congregation, a rather hurried Rosary and a light sermon; the whole effort being punctuated by one or two voices (generally female) belonging to a few "old faithfuls". Nor do the solutions recently discussed in the Press really seem to get to the root of the difficulty. Granted the Church has her official form of evening service, either Vespers or Compline, or even both together; but in very few of our parish churches is it at all possible to sing these well, at least all the year round. In this connexion even their most fervent supporters must be ready to admit that unless well sung they are best left alone, and that, in consequence, it is a waste of time to propose their use as a general solution to this problem.

It has been suggested that the answer may be some form of Holy Hour, accompanied by a sermon; and this solution is, in fact, being tried in some parishes. The only quarrel the present writer has with it as a solution can be put in the form of a question: "Does it really take into account the root of the difficulty?" In other words, it seems to me that we may possibly be taking a far too narrow view of this whole question.

We all know of, and are deeply concerned with, the problem of the "leakage"—a problem which undoubtedly has more than one aspect, and consequently more than one partial solution. Surely, in this matter of the Sunday evening service in our churches there is one such aspect of the problem of the leakage which urgently requires our attention and action. Would it not be true to say that a great number of our lapsed Catholics fall away mainly because they cannot get to Mass, or alternatively, because they provide themselves with a ready-made excuse for not going to Mass on Sundays? There is no need to labour the point that this applies even more to Holydays of Obligation. It is so easy to pay no attention whatever to these excuses and to condemn them all under the general heading of laziness; but perhaps such a general condemnation is not altogether fair comment. After all, we must not forget that we are still in very small numbers in England, and that our churches are few compared with some countries on the continent, where both churches and priests are so plentiful that there is little or no excuse for anyone missing Mass on a Sunday or Holyday of Obligation.

Again, there is the question of the Sunday sermon. Many of our good Catholics, especially those who go to Holy Communion every Sunday, seldom or never hear a sermon, for the simple reason that they go to the early Mass at which the most they can get is five minutes' explanation of the Catechism—if they get that!

The suggestion offered by the present writer is that we could find a solution to these three aspects of one and the same problem by the adoption of the practice of evening Mass, with the possibility of Communion for those who are unable to get to church on a Sunday morning. After all, there is nothing so very startling or revolutionary about this solution. It was the practice of the early Church, and in recent times it has been considered very favourably by the Holy See in the case of other countries faced with a similar problem.¹ Nor can there be any

¹ Cf. *Documentation Catholique*, 8 June, 1935, n. 753, col. 1466, for a record of the Indult granted in 1929 by the Pontifical Commission for Russia, which permits Mass to be said and Holy Communion to be received in the afternoon or evening, provided the fast is observed for at least four hours. Similar permissions were granted to Mexico, and more recently, to the Belgian Bishops. Cf. *ibid.*, 1947, col. 407.

real doubts about the advantages which this solution implies. Perhaps it would be as well to note some of the main ones.

1. In the first place, it would provide a complete answer to the problem of nurses and servants working in hospitals and other institutions, who at present find it extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to get time off for Mass on Sunday mornings. At the moment there is great danger of many of these people losing their faith through sheer difficulty in the practice of it. The morning is their busiest time when their presence is most needed in the hospitals, and we cannot put all the blame on the hospital authorities. It may be noted in passing that most parishes in England have a hospital of some sort under their care. We cannot afford to neglect these souls, and there does seem no other solution to their difficulty other than evening Mass.

2. Under this system there would be no excuse for those who live at some distance from the church and who cannot find means of transport in the mornings—a situation which often arises nowadays, owing to the general restrictions on Sunday bus services. This applies most particularly to people with families. Very often it is possible for one or two members of the family to get to morning Mass, but nearly always someone has to stay behind, particularly when there are small children; and in places where there is a shortage of priests it is not always possible for them to get to church in time for the second Mass.

3. The solution offered also caters for those who have to work on Sunday mornings or on Holydays of Obligation. Such people could nearly always manage an evening Mass, and the vast majority would be only too pleased to do so. We had one practical proof of this during the war when the Christmas Eve Mass was celebrated, not at midnight, but earlier in the evening, with the result that many more people than usual were able to attend, at least in most parishes.

4. Priests would thus have more time to preach short catechetical instructions at each of the Masses in the morning, reserving the main Homily on the Gospel for the evening service. In this way we could make quite sure that the vast majority of our people receive some religious instruction on Sundays. With the present system our time is, in most cases, limited, since one Mass

follows another so rapidly that there is little or no chance for the average priest to fit in any explanation of the Catechism. The adoption of evening Mass would enable us to space the morning Masses out a little.

Also the idea of an evening Mass could be combined with an interchange of pulpits between neighbouring parishes. This would give our people the added incentive of hearing new voices and methods of preaching more frequently than at present, and would also be a distinct advantage to the priests themselves. It is a great pity that more attention is not paid to this idea of co-operation between parishes, which could extend not merely to an exchange of pulpits, but also of confessionalists at certain periods of the year—with equal advantages obvious to a theologian.

5. The benefits of evening Mass on Holydays of Obligation are too obvious to need special mention here. The fact that many, even of our good Catholics, would thus have an opportunity of getting to Mass on those days is surely reason enough. Also many people would relish the idea of being able to assist at more than one Mass on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation. While it is a very excellent thing to campaign for daily Mass, our first care should be to make sure that the fulfilling of the Sunday obligation is within the practical reach of all. We can also take into consideration the opportunity thus afforded to many to receive Holy Communion who would otherwise be prevented from so doing.

I am not unaware of the fact that this solution also has its difficulties, especially from the point of view of our hard-working clergy; but at the same time I do feel that, if they consider this suggestion in the light of the present needs and difficulties of our people, they will, as always, be ready to sacrifice their own comfort for their people. Nor is it my intention to criticize or in any way to minimize the usefulness of any of the devotions at present in use in our churches. There is no reason at all why Benediction and the Rosary should not still find their place in the active life of the Church. Indeed, in many places there may be no need for the introduction of an evening Mass; but that would be a question for the local Ordinary to decide, on the application of each individual parish priest. However, if we are to make the

weak and the feeble members of our congregations the first object of our care and attention, as indeed we should, then something must be done to give them a chance to get to Mass on Sundays and on Holydays of Obligation. The use of evening Mass would render all their present excuses invalid, and we should re-capture many of those who, at the moment, are avoiding the net.

Nor can it be said that we are mainly concerned with the weak and the feeble (although that reason alone would suffice for giving this suggestion a trial), because the Mass being what it is, the whole spiritual life of our people would benefit enormously. After all, the Mass is, and always has been, the centre of our Catholic life, and the main line of demarcation between Catholics and every other religious sect. All the other prayers we say, however good, are still our own individual efforts; but the Mass means so much more. It is the intimate union of ourselves with the one Victim for sin, which does not depend for its efficacy on the dignity or worthiness of those who offer it. It contains in itself the remedy for our daily sins; so much so that the Council of Trent teaches us that, by means of this Sacrifice, we may obtain from God the grace of repentance for even the most grievous sins.¹ In one word, it is the perfect Sacrifice of the New Law. Surely, then, we should do everything in our power to make sure that our people get the opportunity of going to Mass on Sundays. In our present difficulties does not evening Mass provide a reasonable solution?

DAVID L. GREENSTOCK

¹ Cf. Council of Trent, Session 21. Cap. 1. DB. 939.

WALSINGHAM

Forth fared we to Walsingham upon a rain-swept day
 And into Walsingham came we at a gloaming gray.
 Oh! quiet was the quaint town with red roofs and steep
 And velvet in the cradling tiles the lichen lay asleep—
 Green moss and red tile and eaves, wry with age,
 And gutters that ran water when courts made pilgrimage.

Why fared we to Walsingham upon that drenching day?
 Why tarried in that huddled town at that twilight gray?
 O we fared and we tarried to breathe an anxious prayer
 And trust ourselves like children to a Mother's watchful care;
 To pray that her mantle warm might shield a sea-girt land
 As long as stone upon a stone in Walsingham should stand.

What saw we in Walsingham besides the gables steep
 Where the white-breasted swallows like lightning swerve and sweep?
 We saw wasted choirs where now sings the thrush
 Which the deep-chanted litany once bade hush :
 We saw vacant windows where stained glass of yore
 Slanted mellow rainbows across a hallowed floor.

Yet saw we in Walsingham a relic undecayed,
 The slender Slipper Chapel of the meek Mother-Maid ;
 The chapel where a monarch proud would doff a sparkling shoe
 And barefoot tread a stony road and humble penance do ;
 To pledge, maybe, a kingly arm in fealty to a Queen
 Oh! would again that such a sight in England might be seen.

What heard we in Walsingham besides the thrush's call?
 We heard within the Slipper Shrine the mass-bell's music fall.
 We heard the ancient Kyrie, the Gloria, and Creed
 Upon the mystic Calvary, where Five Wounds bleed.
 We heard the echo of a sob—a Woman's—by a Tree—
 A choking sob—oh! Walsingham! was that hard thing for thee?

Can time restore the ruined wall? Can Walsingham arise
 And strain once more its yearning towers to England's dappled skies?
 Can storied windows flush again at birth and death of day?
 Can tonsured friar in carven choir revive the silenced lay?
 Doubt not, if but our pulsing hearts be Mary's living shrines
 And lives, robust, be windows through which she, splendid, shines.

FREDERICK DUCKETT

CHRISTIAN CO-OPERATION

THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1942, XXII, p. 300, gave under this heading a series of extracts from Papal documents, 1895-1942, explanatory of the teaching of the Holy See on the subject of Catholics co-operating with non-Catholics. In response to several requests the extracts are now continued up to the end of 1947. In many statements made by the present Pope since the end of the war, an appeal has been included to all non-Catholics to further the efforts of the Holy See for the appeasement of the world, both by prayer and action; e.g. 2 June, 1945, *C.T.S.*, S. 194, p. 14. Those have been selected which, on the one hand, give precision to the object matter of our co-operation, and, on the other hand, affirm the position and rights of the Church.

(15) *Mystici Corporis*, 29 June, 1943

Et primum quidem huius amoris amplitudinem imitemur. Una profecto est Christi Sponsa, nempe Ecclesia; attamen divini Sponsi amor tam late patet, ut neminem excludens, universum hominum genus in sua Sponsa amplectatur. Hac scilicet de causa sanguinem suum Servator noster effudit, ut omnes homines, natione ac stirpe sciunctos, Deo reconciliaret in Cruce, eosdemque in unum Corpus coalescere iuberet. Verus igitur Ecclesiae amor postulat non solum ut in ipso Corpore simus alter alterius membra pro invicem sollicita (cf. Rom. xii, 5; 1 Cor. xii, 25) quae gloriante alio membro gaudeant, patienti compatiuant oporteat (cf. 1 Cor. xii, 26) sed etiam ut alios homines nobiscum nondum in Ecclesiae Corpore coniunctos, fratres agnoscamus Christi secundum carnem, una nobiscum ad eandem aeternam salutem evocatos. Utique, proh dolor, hodie praesertim non desunt, qui similitatem, odium livoremque superbe iacent, veluti quiddam extollens atque efferens humanam dignitatem, humanamque virtutem. Nos tamen, dum funestos huius doctrinae

95. In the first place let us imitate the universality of His love. It is true that Christ has only one Bride, the Church; yet the love of the divine Bridegroom is so universal that in His Bride He embraces without exception every member of the human race. For our Saviour's purpose in shedding His blood was that on the Cross He might reconcile with God all men, held asunder by nationality and race, and bid them come together into one Body. A true love of the Church therefore requires not only that in the Body itself we should be members one of another and mutually careful one for another (cf. Rom. xii, 5; 1 Cor. xii, 25), each rejoicing in another member's glory and suffering in his sorrow (cf. 1 Cor. xii, 26); but also that in other human beings not yet united with us in the Body of the Church we should see brethren of Christ according to the flesh, called with us to the same eternal salvation. It is unhappily true that there are men today who insolently acclaim animosity, hatred and envy as proofs of human dignity and manly virtue. But we, as we sorrowfully witness the

fructus dolentes cernimus, pacificum Regem nostrum sequamur, qui nos docuit non solum eos amare, qui non ex eadem gente, neque ex eadem stirpe sint orti (cf. Luc. x, 33-37) sed vel ipsos inimicos diligere (cf. Luc., vi, 27-35; Matt. v, 44-48). Nos, suavissima Apostoli gentium sententia perfusis animis, cum eodem canamus quae sit longitudine, latitudo, sublimitas, profundum caritatis Christi (cf. Eph. iii, 18); quam quidem nec generis morumque diversitas disfringere, nec immensi oceani tractus imminuere, nec bella denique, vel iusta vel iniusta de causa suscepta, dissolvere possunt.

Gravissima hac hora, Venerabiles Fratres, qua tot dolores corpora lacerant maioresque animos, ad hanc supernam caritatem excitari omnes oportet, ut collatis omnium bonorum viribus—eorum praesertim recordamur, qui cuiusvis generis consociationibus ad suppetias occurrendum dant operam—tam ingenitus animi corporisque necessitatibus mira pietatis misericordiaeque contentione subveniatur; atque adeo mystici Iesu Christi Corporis studiosa largitas et inexhausta fecunditas ubique gentium resplendat. (A.A.S., 1943, XXXV, p. 240.)

disastrous results of that doctrine, will follow our King of peace who taught us to love not only those of another people or race than our own (cf. Luke x, 33-37), but even our very enemies (cf. Luke vi, 27-35; Matt. v, 44-48). We, our hearts inspired with the tender sentiment of the Apostle of the Nations, will join him in extolling the length and breadth and height and depth of the charity of Christ (cf. Eph. iii, 18), a charity which no difference of race or custom can divide, no tracts of ocean diminish, no war, just or unjust, destroy.

96. In this grave hour, Venerable Brethren, when pain is racking so many bodies and sorrow rending so many hearts, the world must be kindled to this supernatural charity, so that all good men (We have in Our thoughts especially members of charitable organizations of every kind) may pool their resources to meet these gigantic spiritual and material needs, in an admirable competition of pity and love. So will the whole world be witness of the active generosity and the inexhaustible fecundity of the mystical Body of Jesus Christ. (C.T.S. Translated by Canon G. D. Smith.)

(16) *Nuntius Radiophonicus*, 1 September, 1944

Scossi dal cumulo di tante rovine, multi animi onesti si ridestano come da un sogno angoscioso, bramosi di trovare anche in altri campi—fino ad ora mutuamente separati e lontani—collaboratori, compagni di via e di lotta, per la grande opera di ricostruzione di un mondo, scalzato nelle sue fondamenta e dilacerato nella sua più intima compagine. Nulla certamente di più naturale, nulla di più opportuno, nulla—supposte le indispensabili cautele—di più doveroso!

Shocked by such an accumulation of ruin, numbers of upright people, awakened as it were from a nightmare, are trying to find even in opposing camps which so far have been separate and very distant, collaborators and companions and allies in the great work of reconstructing a world shaken to its foundations and shattered in its framework. Could anything be more natural and timely, and with all due precautions more obligatory upon all?

Per quanti si gloriano del nome cristiano e professano la fede in Cristo con una condotta di vita inviolabilmente conforme alle sue leggi, questa disposizione e prontezza di animo a lavorare in comune, nello spirto di una vera solidarietà fraterna, non obbedisce soltanto all'obbligo morale del retto adempimento dei doveri civili; essa si eleva alla dignità di un postulato della coscienza sorretta e guidata dall'amore di Dio e del prossimo, cui aggiungono vigore i segni ammonitori del momento presente e la intensità dello sforzo richiesto per la salvezza dei popoli. . . .

Alcuni giungono a dimenticare questo prezioso patrimonio, a trascurarlo, perfino a ripudiarlo; ma il fatto di quella successione ereditaria rimane. Un figlio può ben rinnegare sua madre; egli non cessa perciò di essere a lei unito biologicamente e spiritualmente. Così anche i figli, allontanatisi e straniatisi dalla casa paterna, sentono pur sempre, talvolta inconsapevolmente, come voce del sangue, l'eco di quella eredità cristiana, che spesso nei propositi e nelle azioni li preserva dal lasciarsi interamente dominare e guidare dalle false idee. . . .

Perciò a tutti i Nostri figli e figlie nel vasto mondo, come anche a coloro che, pur non appartenendo alla Chiesa, si sentono uniti con Noi in quest'ora di determinazioni forse irrevocabili, rivolgiamo l'urgente esortazione di ponderare la straordinaria gravità del momento e di considerare come, al di sopra di ogni collaborazione con altre divergenti tendenze ideologiche e forze sociali, suggerita talora da motivi puramente contingenti, la fedeltà al patrimonio della civiltà cristiana e la sua strenua difesa contro le correnti ateistiche ed anticristiane è la chiave di volta, che mai non può essere sacrificata, a nessun vantaggio tran-

For all those who are proud to be called Christians, who profess faith in Christ, and whose lives are in complete conformity with His laws, this willingness and readiness to work together in a spirit of real and brotherly harmony responds, firstly, to their duty as citizens. But it has, in addition, the dignity of an obligation of conscience sustained and guided by the love of God and of one's neighbour, an obligation which has a special insistence from the warning signs of the present moment and from the intense effort demanded for the salvation of the human race. . . .

Some, indeed, appear to forget their precious heritage (of the Christian faith), to neglect it or repudiate it, but the fact of this hereditary succession remains. A son may repudiate his mother, but he remains nevertheless united to her biologically and spiritually. So too those children who have departed and become estranged from their father's house always retain, though at times only subconsciously as a call of the blood, some echo of their Christian inheritance. It is this which saves their decisions and their conduct from being completely dominated by false ideas. . . .

Accordingly, to all our sons and daughters throughout the entire world, and to those also who, whilst not belonging to the Church, feel united with us at this time when irrevocable decisions are pending, we address an urgent appeal, begging them to consider the extraordinary gravity of the moment. Various ideas, tendencies and social theories, many of them very likely suggested by contingent or passing motives, may claim their allegiance and co-operation. But above and beyond all these things there is a keystone which can never be sacrificed for the sake of some passing advantage or of some changing alli-

sitorio, a nessuna mutevole combinazione.

Questo invito, che confidiamo troverà un'eco favorevole in milioni di anime sulla terra, tende principalmente ad una leale ed efficace collaborazione in tutti quei campi, nei quali la creazione di un più retto ordinamento giuridico si manifesta come particolarmente richiesta dalla stessa idea cristiana. Ciò vale in modo speciale per quel complesso di formidabili problemi, che riguardano la costituzione di un ordine economico e sociale più rispondente all'eterna legge divina e più conforme alla dignità umana. . . . (A.A.S., 1944, XXXVI, p. 249.)

(17) *Nuntius Radiophonicus*, 24 December, 1944

Se l'avvenire apparterrà alla democrazia, una parte essenziale nel suo compimento dovrà toccare alla religione di Cristo e alla Chiesa, messaggiera della parola del Redentore e continuatrice della sua missione di salvezza. Essa infatti insegnava e difende le verità, comunica le forze soprannaturali della grazia, per attuare l'ordine stabilito da Dio degli esseri e dei fini, ultimo fondamento e norma direttiva di ogni democrazia.

Con la sua stessa esistenza la Chiesa si erge di fronte al mondo, faro splendente che ricorda costantemente quest'ordine divino. La sua storia riflette chiaramente la sua missione provvidenziale. Le lotte che, costretta dall'abuso della forza, ha dovuto sostenere per la difesa della libertà ricevuta da Dio, furono, al tempo stesso, lotte per là vera libertà dell'uomo.

La Chiesa ha la missione di annunciare al mondo, bramoso di migliori e più perfette forme di demo-

rance. This keystone is fidelity to the heritage of Christian civilization and its courageous defence against the forces opposed to God and Christianity.

This invitation, which we trust will find a sympathetic echo in millions of souls throughout the world, calls chiefly for loyal and effective collaboration in all those matters which require, from the very idea of Christianity, the creation of a sound juridical order. It applies more especially to the formidable group of problems relating to the establishment of an economic and social order more in keeping with the eternal law of God and the dignity of man. . . .

If the future is destined to belong to democracy, then an essential part in its task will fall to the lot of the Church, whose mission is to deliver the Redeemer's message and to continue His work of salvation. For it is the Church who teaches and defends the truth, and it is she who communicates that supernatural strength of grace which is needed to implement the absolute order established by God, that order which is the ultimate foundation and guiding norm for every democracy.

The very existence of the Church gives to the world a shining beacon to remind men constantly of this divine order, and in her history lies the clear proof of her providential mission. The conflicts which the abuse of power has forced her to undertake in defence of the liberty bestowed upon her by God, have been also conflicts waged in defence of the true liberty of man.

It is the Church's mission to proclaim to the world, now demanding more and more perfect forms of de-

crazia, il messaggio più alto e più necessario che possa esservi: la dignità dell'uomo, la vocazione alla figliolanza di Dio. È il potente grido che dalla culla di Betlemme risuona fino agli estremi confini della terra agli orecchi degli uomini, in un tempo in cui questa dignità è più dolorosamente abbassata. (*A.A.S.*, 1945, XXXVII, p. 22.)

mocracy, the message than which there can be none more sublime or more necessary: that of the dignity of man, that of his vocation to be a son of God. It is the same message which resounds from the cradle of Bethlehem to the ends of the earth, ringing in men's ears at a time when their dignity has known its most painful degradation. (*C.T.S.* Translated by Canon G. D. Smith.)

(18) *Allocutio ad adscriptos Societatis Christianis operariorum Italicorum*, 11 March, 1945

... il Sindacato e le Associazioni dei lavoratori cristiani tendono ad un fine comune, che è quello di elevare le condizioni di vita del lavoratore. I dirigenti del nuovo Sindacato unico hanno riconosciuto "l'altissimo contributo spirituale che i lavoratori cattolici portano all'opera della Confederazione" e hanno reso omaggio al "soffio della spiritualità evangelica" che essi infondono nella Confederazione stessa per "il bene di tutto il movimento operaio". Piaccia a Dio che queste manifestazioni siano stabili ed efficaci e che lo spirito del Vangelo costituisca veramente la base dell'azione sindacale! Poiché in realtà, se non vogliamo contentarci di vane parole, in che cosa consiste praticamente questo spirito del Vangelo se non nel far prevalere i principi della giustizia, secondo l'ordine stabilito da Dio nel mondo, sulla forza pura mente meccanica delle organizzazioni, l'amore e la carità sull'odio di classe? Voi comprendete così quale importante dovere ed ufficio d'impulso, di vigilanza, di preparazione e di perfezionamento spetta alle Associazioni dei lavoratori cristiani nei riguardi del lavoro sindacale. (*A.A.S.*, 1945, XXXVII, p. 70.)

. . . The aim of the Trades Union and that of the Catholic Workers' Associations are one and the same: to improve the living conditions of the worker. The directors of the new united Trades Union have acknowledged "the valuable spiritual contribution which the Catholic workers make to the work of the Confederation", and have paid homage to "the evangelical spirit" which they infuse into the Confederation itself, "to the advantage of the whole labour movement". God grant that these signs may prove to be lasting and efficacious, and that the spirit of the Gospel may indeed form the basis of the Union's action. For in what, unless we are going to be content with mere empty words, does the spirit of the Gospel really consist when reduced to practice? In nothing else but making the principles of justice, according to the order established in the world by God, prevail over the purely mechanical power of organizations, and in making love and charity prevail over class hatred. See, therefore, how important is the duty and function—a function of initiative, watchfulness, preparation, and development—which falls to Christian Workers' Associations in connection with the work of the Trades Union. (*C.T.S.* Translated by Canon G. D. Smith.)

(19) *Epistula ad . . . Germaniae Ordinarios*, 1 November, 1945

Ad rei autem socialis disciplinam illa etiam praestantissima causa procul dubio pertinet, quae de ordinando operariorum omnium foedere agit, qui quidem, ut scribitis, "proxime in unum corpus" consociandi sunt. Animadvertisimus porro eiusmodi consociationis formam rationemque dum extraordinaria haec rerum adjuncta perseverent, pro tempore admitti posse. Attamen, cum haec eadem ratio ac forma gravium periculorum expers non sit, vestrae curae profecto ac vigilantiae erit opificum studia voluntatumque proclivitatem ita regere ac moderari, ut qui ex iisdem catholico consentur nomine, a socialis doctrinae praeceptis, quae ex Evangelio atque ex iure naturali hausta, iam superiore aetate tam illuminate ac recte a maioribus tradita sunt, minime aberrent. . . . (A.A.S., 1945, XXVII, p. 281.)

(20) *Epistula ad . . . Archiepiscopum Tridentinum*,
21 November, 1945

Sed futurum confidimus ut iis etiam, qui ab Apostolica hac Sede sciunt quidem sint, at primarias saltem divinitus patefactas veritates, de augusta praescriptum Trinitatis mysterio ac de Iesu Christi divinitate, fide retineant, saecularis eiusmodi commemoratione perutilis fiat; si enim mente a praeiudicatis opinionibus libera hoc insigne christiana sapientiae monumentum intuiti fuerint, si salutaris supernaeque virtutis effectus probe consideraverint, qui inde in Ecclesiae civilisque societatis bonum profecti sint, si denique animadverterint eas omnes veritates, quae saeculi xvi Novatores cum Ecclesia Matre communes adhuc habebant, incolumes atque integras—dum hac aetate effrenus "rationalismus", qui dicitur, tantopere alicubi invaluit, ac gelida

Amongst your social activities the first place must undoubtedly be assigned to the Workers' Associations which are, as your letter informs us, "about to be united in one body". We think that, so long as present abnormal conditions continue, this form and manner of association must be admitted for the time being. Since, however, it is not without grave danger, care and vigilance on your part will be necessary in guiding and directing the ideas and tendencies of the workers, so that the Catholic workers remain firmly attached to those sociological principles which, based on the Gospel and the natural law, have been so rightly and clearly handed on to us by our predecessors in the past.

We hope also that the celebration (of the fourth centenary of the Council of Trent) will be profitable to those who, though separated indeed from the Apostolic See, retain faith at least in the primary truths of divine revelation, and above all in the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Jesus Christ. If with unprejudiced minds they consider this great achievement of Christian wisdom; if they rightly weigh the salutary and supernatural effects which have been derived from it for the good of the Church and of human society; if they observe that all the truths then held in common by the sixteenth-century reformers and by the Mother Church have been preserved intact by the Catholic Church alone, whereas the unbridled rationalism

illa de quavis religione dubitatio multorum incessit animos—a Catholica tantummodo Ecclesia servatas esse, quae quidem tot tantisque in mediis conversionibus ac procellis firma perstat in fide, atque, operum potens, cuiusvis stirpis, linguae nationisque hominibus benefica est, tum iudicem—ut fore sperare licet—rectum et cum historia consuetum iudicium de gravibus hisce eventibus, quorum memoria agitur, sibi component, ac vividum impensemque ex animo quisque suo elici desiderium experientur necessariae illius cum Petro eiusque Successoribus unitatis, quam tristissima rerum adjuncta quattuor ante saecula infelissime confregere. Hoc Nos a divino Pastorum Principe enixis precebus efflagitamus, votum illud iterantes, quo oratio in postrema Concilii Tridentini sessione (conc. Trid. [Goerres] IX, p. 1103) concluditur: "Fac, tu Domine Deus noster ut . . . quod fore aliquando pollicitus es, fiat temporibus nostris, ut unum sit omnium ovile et unus Pastor."

(A.A.S., 1945, XXVII, p. 313.)

of our age has everywhere grown strong and chilling religious doubt has invaded the minds of many; if they reflect that the Church herself in the midst of so many stormy changes remains firm in her faith, effective in her works, and a benevolent influence upon men of every race, tongue and nation; we affirm that, if they think on these things, it is to be hoped that they will form a sound judgement, in accordance with historical truth, on the importance of the events now being commemorated, and that they will experience a heart-felt desire for that necessary unity with Peter and his successors, which four centuries ago lamentable circumstances so unhappily ruptured. In our prayers addressed to the chief Pastor of the flock, we repeat the petition uttered in the last session of the Council of Trent: "Grant in our time, O Lord God, what Thou didst once promise, that all may be in one fold with one Shepherd."

(21) Allocutio ad mulieres adscriptas Societatibus Christianis Operariorum . . . 15 August, 1945

Ciò che Noi dicemmo nell'Udienza dell'11 Marzo passato alle Associazioni cristiane dei lavoratori italiani intorno ai loro diritti e doveri nella vita pubblica, vale anche per voi, dilette figlie. . . .

Una cosa però vi raccomandiamo particolarmente. In Italia, come è noto, fu costituito il Sindacato unico, a cui aderirono anche i cattolici, sebbene questi fossero consapevoli non soltanto degli sperati vantaggi, ma altresì dei pericoli che esso avrebbe potuto presentare. Nella sua fondazione fu espressamente riconosciuto l'altissimo valore dell'influsso che il soffio della spiritualità evangelica avrebbe esercitato nell'opera della Confederazione. Questa con-

What we had occasion to say on 11 March last, during an audience given to the Associations of Christian Working Men, applies equally to you, my dear daughters. . . .

There is one thing which we recommend very specially. There has been erected in Italy, as you all know, one sole Syndicate (of Trade Unions). Catholics, informed of the advantages to be expected therefrom, and also of the dangers which it presented, have joined this sole Syndicate. At the time of its establishment, the great value and influence which the spirit of the Gospel might have on the work of the Confederation was expressly recognized.

fortevole previsione si è forse avverata? Non oseremmo affermarlo. Ad ogni modo, niuno più di voi, lavoratrici cattoliche, è chiamato a far sì che le belle parole allora pronunciate non rimangano un suono vano e sterile, che i venti delle passioni politiche ben presto disperdonino, ma siano veramente la forza illuminatrice e tutrice dell'attività sindacale. (A.A.S., 1945, XXXVII, p. 214.)

(22) *Allocutio . . . in festo*

È perciò un punto di capitale importanza, nell'ora presente, che i cattolici e quanti riconoscono e adorano un Dio personale e osservano il suo Decalogo, non si lascino per nulla al mondo intimorire, ma abbiano coscienza della propria forza.

Siamo dunque consapevoli di quanto essi, ed essi soltanto, possono realmente ed efficacemente contribuire all'opera di ricostruzione, persuasi ad un tempo che questa giammai non sarà per venire a felice compimento, se non si fonderà sul diritto, sull'ordine e sulla libertà. Sulla libertà, vogliamo dire, di tendere a ciò che è vero e buono, una libertà la quale sia in armonia col benessere di ogni popolo in particolare e di tutta la grande famiglia dei popoli. Di questa libertà la Chiesa è stata sempre assertrice, tutrice e vindice. (A.A.S., 1946, XXXVIII, p. 256.)

(23) *Allocutio ad Praelatos . . . S. Romanae Rotae . . . ,
6 October, 1946*

Noi non ignoriamo che il solo nome di questo tribunale urta il sentimento di non pochi uomini del nostro tempo. Sono coloro, il cui pensiero e il cui intimo senso si trovano sotto il fascino di una dottrina, che, escludendo ogni idea di soprannaturale e di rivelazione, attribuisce

We would not dare to affirm that this consoling expectation has actually been realized. Whatever the truth about it may be, it is for you, Catholic women workers, to secure that the expectations so finely expressed at its foundation do not become vain and sterile, shattered by the storm of political passions. It is for you to make them a living force, directing, sustaining, guarding the activities of the Syndicate . . .

S. Eugenii, 1 June, 1946

It is therefore of the first importance at the present time that Catholics, and all those who acknowledge and adore a personal God and observe His commandments, should be conscious of their strength and not let themselves be intimidated.

Let them realize how much they, and only they, can really and effectively contribute to the task of reconstruction, remembering that this will never be brought to a successful issue unless it is founded on justice, order, and freedom. And when We say freedom, We mean freedom to pursue the true and the good, a freedom which is in harmony with the welfare of every nation and that of the great family of nations as a whole. This is the freedom that the Church has ever asserted, defended, and vindicated. (C.T.S. Translated by Canon G. D. Smith.)

We are well aware that the very name of this tribunal shocks the sensibilities of many people today. They are those whose thought and intimate feelings are under the spell of a doctrine that rejects all idea of the supernatural and of revelation, claims that the human reason alone

alla umana ragione la forza di comprendere a fondo il mondo, la prerogativa di dominare tutta la vita, e per conseguenza esige in ciò la piena indipendenza dell'uomo da qualsiasi vincolo di autorità. Di questa dottrina Noi conosciamo le fonti, i fautori, i progressi; sappiamo il suo influsso sulla vita intellettuale, morale, sociale, sulla economia e sulla politica, ma anche le sue peripezie nel corso della storia degli ultimi secoli, specialmente degli ultimi cento anni. I suoi rappresentanti si appellano al principio della "libertà di coscienza", al principio della "toleranza" nelle materie concernenti la vita spirituale, soprattutto religiosa. Tuttavia troppo spesso essi stessi, appena conquistato il potere, non hanno avuto nulla di più urgente che di violentare le coscenze e d'imporre alla parte cattolica del popolo un giogo opprimente, specialmente per ciò che si riferisce al diritto dei genitori nella educazione dei figli.

Se alla coscienza moderna può sembrare che la reazione contro i delitti a danno della fede nei secoli scorsi abbia talvolta oltrepassato i giusti limiti, ai tempi nostri invece la umana società mostra generalmente a questo riguardo una eccessiva insensibilità e indifferenza. I sempre più frequenti contatti e la promiscuità delle diverse confessioni religiose entro i confini di un medesimo popolo hanno condotto i tribunali civili a seguire il principio della "toleranza" e della "libertà di coscienza". Anzi vi è una tolleranza politica, civile e sociale verso i seguaci delle altre confessioni, che in tali circostanze è anche per i cattolici un dovere morale. . . .

Per riprendere ora il filo del Nostro ragionamento, dobbiamo aggiungere che il tribunale ecclesiastico

is able to reach a complete understanding of the universe and ought to dominate the whole of life, and consequently demands for man in this matter a complete independence of any authority. We are acquainted with the sources of this doctrine and its partisans, and We know the progress it has made; We are aware of the influence it exerts on intellectual, moral, and social life, and on economics and politics; We are familiar also with its varying fortunes during the last few centuries, especially during the past hundred years. Its adherents appeal to the principle of "freedom of conscience" and to the principle of "tolerance" in matters touching the spiritual life, especially religion. None the less they themselves only too often, when once they have got into power, make it their first business to do violence to consciences and to impose an oppressive yoke on the Catholic population, particularly in regard to the rights of parents in the education of their children.

It may appear to the modern conscience that the punishment of crimes against the faith has sometimes in the past exceeded just limits. But it must be admitted that in these days, on the contrary, society in general shows an excessive insensitivity and indifference in the matter. The increasingly frequent contacts between different religious professions, mingled indiscriminately within the same nation, have caused civil tribunals to follow the principle of "tolerance" and "liberty of conscience". Indeed, there is a political tolerance, a civil tolerance, a social tolerance, in regard to the adherents of other religious beliefs which, in circumstances such as these, is a moral duty also for Catholics. . . .

To resume the thread of Our argument, We must add that the ecclesiastical tribunal cannot in the

nell'esercizio della sua giurisdizione non può far propria la stessa norma seguita dai tribunali civili. La Chiesa cattolica, come abbiamo già detto, è una società perfetta, la quale ha per fondamento la verità della fede infallibilmente rivelata da Dio. Ciò che a questa verità si oppone è necessariamente un errore e all'errore non si possono obiettivamente riconoscere gli stessi diritti che alla verità. In tal guisa la libertà di pensiero e la libertà di coscienza hanno i loro limiti essenziali nella veridicità di Dio rivelatore. Diciamo: i loro limiti essenziali, se realmente la verità non è uguale all'errore e se realmente la sana coscienza nell'uomo è la voce di Dio. Da ciò consegue che un membro della Chiesa non può senza colpa negare o ripudiare la verità cattolica già conosciuta ed ammessa; e se la Chiesa, dopo di aver accertato il fatto della eresia e dell'apostasia, lo punisce, per esempio, escludendolo dalla comunione dei fedeli, rimane strettamente nella sua competenza ed agisce a tutela, per così dire, del suo diritto domestico. (*A.A.S.*, 1946, XXXVIII, p. 391.)

exercise of its jurisdiction adopt the same principle as that followed by the tribunals of the State. The Catholic Church, as We have said, is a perfect society, having as its foundation the truth of faith infallibly revealed by God. Anything opposed to this truth is necessarily an error, and error cannot be allowed objectively the same rights as truth. Therefore freedom of thought and freedom of conscience have their essential limits in the truthfulness of God who reveals. We say, their essential limits, if in reality truth is not equal to error, and if in reality a healthy conscience in man is the voice of God. Hence it follows that a member of the Church cannot without guilt deny or repudiate the Catholic truth which he has once recognized and admitted; and if the Church, having ascertained the fact of heresy and apostasy, punishes it, for example by exclusion from the communion of the faithful, she remains strictly within her own competence, and acts, so to speak, in defence of her domestic right. (*THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1947, XXVII, p. 277, translated by Canon G. D. Smith.)

(24) *Chirographus ad Ex̄num . . . F. C. Americae Septent. Praesidem,*
26 August, 1947

. . . Your Excellency seeks to enlist and cement the co-operation of every force and power which can help to accomplish this task. No one more than We will hope for its success, and for the happy achievement of the goal We pledge Our resources and earnestly beg God's assistance.

What is proposed is to ensure the foundations of a lasting peace among nations. It were indeed futile to promise long life to any building erected on shifting sands or a cracked and crumbling base. The foundations, We know, of such a peace—the truth finds expression once again in the letter of Your Excellency—can be secure only if they rest on bed-rock faith in the one, true God, the Creator of all men. It was He who of necessity assigned man's purpose in life; it is from Him, with consequent necessity, that man derives personal, imprescriptible rights to pursue that purpose and to be unhindered in the attainment of it. Civil society is also of divine origin and indicated by nature itself; but it is subsequent to man and meant to be a means to defend him and to help him in the legitimate exercise of his God-given rights. Once the State, to the exclusion of God, makes itself the

source of the rights of the human person, man is forthwith reduced to the condition of a slave, of a mere civic commodity to be exploited for the selfish aims of a group that happens to have power. The order of God is overturned; and history surely makes it clear to those who wish to read, that the inevitable result is the subversion of order between peoples, is war. The task, then, before the friends of peace is clear.

Is Your Excellency over-sanguine in hoping to find men throughout the world ready to co-operate for such a worthy enterprise? We think not. Truth has lost none of its power to rally to its cause the most enlightened minds and noblest spirits. Their ardour is fed by the flame of righteous freedom struggling to break through injustice and lying. But those who possess the truth must be conscientious to define it clearly when its foes cleverly distort it, bold to defend it and generous enough to set the course of their lives, both national and personal, by its dictates. This will require, moreover, correcting not a few aberrations. Social injustices, racial injustices and religious animosities exist today among men and groups who boast of Christian civilization, and they are a very useful and often effective weapon in the hands of those who are bent on destroying all the good which that civilization has brought to man. It is for all sincere lovers of the great human family to unite in wresting those weapons from hostile hands. With that union will come hope that the enemies of God and free men will not prevail.

Certainly Your Excellency and all defenders of the rights of the human person will find wholehearted co-operation from God's Church. . . . In striving with all the resources at her power to bring men and nations to a clear realization of their duty to God, the Church will go on, as she has always done, to offer the most effective contribution to the world's peace and man's eternal salvation. (A.A.S., 1947, XXXIX, p. 380.)

(25) *Allocutio . . . habita coram . . . hominibus Ab Actione Catholica . . . coadunatis, 7 September, 1947*

1º Siate larghi di cuore. Dovunque voi incontrate per la causa di Cristo e della Chiesa sincera buona volontà, operosità, intelligenza, destrezza, sia nelle vostre proprie file, sia al di fuori dell'Azione Cattolica, anche se si presentano con nuove, ma sane, forme di apostolato, rallegratevene, non impeditele, anzi mantenete buona amicizia con loro e aiutatele, ogniqualvolta il vostro appoggio è possibile e desiderato od atteso. I bisogni, cui la Chiesa deve provvedere nell'ora presente, sono così numerosi ed urgenti, che benvenuta è ogni mano la quale offre la sua generosa cooperazione.

. . . Senza dubbio la tutela e la conservazione della presente consistenza delle forze cattoliche nel

Have wide interests at heart. Rejoice wherever in the cause of Christ and of the Church you meet sincerity, good-will, activity, intelligence and wisdom, whether in your own ranks or outside Catholic Action, presented in new but genuine forms of apostolic activity. Far from raising obstacles offer cordial friendship and assistance whenever your support is possible, requested or expected. The needs of the Church at the present time are so numerous and urgent that we must grasp every hand which offers generous co-operation.

. . . Undoubtedly the defence and preservation of actual effective Catholic forces amongst your own

vostro popolo è già di per sè impresa altamente meritoria. Suol dirsi però che chi si restringe a star sempre sulla difensiva, va lentamente perdendo. E in realtà l'Azione Cattolica vuol essere più che la pura coazione di cattolici fedeli. Il suo scopo ultimo è di riguadagnare il perduto e di avanzare a nuove conquiste. (A.A.S., 1947, XXXIX, p. 425.)

people is in itself a highly meritorious work. Yet there is a saying that whoever is content with being merely on the defensive slowly loses ground. Catholic Action, in fact, must be something more than a simple union of faithful Catholics. Its final goal is to regain what has been lost and to make fresh conquests. . . .

HERALDS OF THE SECOND SPRING

VII. CARDINAL ACTON

THE idea of appointing an English Cardinal in Curia, with special and direct responsibility in regard to English questions, does not appear to have arisen in any practical shape until after the Emancipation Act of 1829. Diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See, at any rate in a tenuous form, became almost inevitable after the French revolution had proclaimed a Republic and when the British Government began to give refuge, and even financial support, to French bishops and priests who had to escape from the terror. Cardinal Gasquet has published¹ some extremely interesting documentary evidence concerning the mission of Sir John Hippisley to Rome during that period, and the activities of Mgr Erskine during his protracted stay in England. Erskine was a Scots lawyer, who had attained brilliant success in the Roman courts and had been appointed *Promotore della Fede*, or in its better-known title "Devil's Advocate", before he was sent to England. He became a Cardinal afterwards, although he was a layman; and it is necessary to emphasize the fact that laymen were still appointed occasionally as Cardinals until mid-Victorian days. Cardinal Antonelli, for instance, the most

¹ *Great Britain and the Holy See. 1792-1816.*

famous Secretary of State under Pope Pius IX, was a layman. The Pope was still the sovereign of a Temporal State, which included a large part of Italy, with Rome as its capital, and the relations between the Holy See and other States therefore involved many political and temporal questions, besides those which were purely ecclesiastical.

So when Cardinal Consalvi came to England on the conclusion of peace after the Napoleonic wars, he was directly concerned with questions of territorial sovereignty, and even of compensation for property that had been looted from Rome during the revolutionary wars. But he was of course chiefly concerned with ecclesiastical questions; and it was after his visit to England in connexion with the peace-making that the decision was taken to reopen the English College in Rome which had been derelict for nearly thirty years. Among the first group of students who went out in 1818 to form the nucleus of the resuscitated College was young Nicholas Wiseman from Ushaw. His brilliant gifts soon attracted attention to the College, and within three years after his ordination there in 1825, he became its Vice-Rector. In 1829 he succeeded Dr Gradwell as Rector.

Leo XII had then been Pope for nearly six years, and a few months after Wiseman's appointment as rector, he died suddenly. He had shown particular kindness to young Dr Wiseman, and he had also been greatly impressed by Bishop Baines while he was in Rome recuperating from a breakdown before his succession as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. Leo XII was a Benedictine, and he desired to create a Benedictine Cardinal in the usual tradition by which a new Pope who belonged to a religious order conferred his own red hat upon one of his brethren. Bishop Baines had such gifts and such personal distinction that the Pope, according to Wiseman, had designated him for the nomination. It would have involved making an English bishop a Cardinal for the first time in centuries; but there was apparently no special significance in the appointment, even though it meant transferring a bishop from England to Rome. And when Leo XII was succeeded in March 1829 by another Benedictine, Cardinal Castiglione, as Pius VIII, the offer was again made to Bishop Baines. He, however, had by that time succeeded as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District,

and he had such ambitious projects in view there that he declined the honour for a second time.

But the year 1829 brought the Catholic Emancipation Act, and in the changed situation thus created there were new reasons for appointing an English Cardinal who should have direct responsibility for English affairs. The choice would necessarily involve considerations that were not simply ecclesiastical, because one of the chief reasons for creating an English Cardinal was to gratify the British sovereign and his Parliament. In England, and still more in Ireland, there were no illusions about the intense reluctance of King George IV to allow Catholic Emancipation to become law. But in Rome the concession had to be regarded as the generous gesture of a paternal King: and those who had no inside information on the subject assumed that it was so. In the circumstances there would have been reasons for appointing a layman rather than a priest, since it was one of the most necessary qualifications that the new Cardinal should be not only *persona grata* to the English Court but someone whose name would convey some meaning to a senile King. The position of the Vicars Apostolic was so nebulous from a legal point of view that the King would scarcely have any idea of who, or how many, they were. And there was no priest in England whose name was likely to be known to him.

But the King did know some of the leading Catholic families; and in his youth he had even associated considerably with them when he had first become infatuated with Mrs Fitzherbert. She had been twice widowed when he first met her; for she had been married first, almost on leaving school, to Edward Weld, the elder brother of Mr Thomas Weld of Lulworth Castle in Dorset. Edward Weld had died within a year of his marriage; and she had subsequently married Captain Fitzherbert of Swynnerton Castle, but he too had died soon afterwards, as a result of his exertions during the Gordon Riots. Then the Prince of Wales had met her, and after an impetuous courtship had persuaded her to marry him secretly. Both her uncle and her brother had been witnesses to the secret marriage, and in the following years he and Mrs Fitzherbert had been constantly in the society of her aristocratic Catholic relations

and friends. After a time the Prince had deserted her, and treated her with great unkindness; but before long he had implored her to come back to him, and she had referred the problem to Rome, through her chaplain, as a matter of conscience. The Roman court had decided that her secret marriage, though performed by a Protestant parson, was in fact valid in canon law; and they had then resumed their former relationship. But nearly twenty years had elapsed now since he deserted her again, and she was living in discreet retirement at Brighton.

It can scarcely have seemed tactful to recall these associations in the first choice of an English Cardinal; yet the range of selection was so restricted, and the Catholic families were all so closely intermarried that it would have been all but impossible to find any important family to whom Mrs Fitzherbert had not been related. Among the few possible candidates there was one who possessed a quite unique combination of personal qualifications. Long ago, when the Prince of Wales was still only a boy, King George III and the Queen had made the acquaintance of Mr Thomas Weld of Lulworth Castle when they went to stay at Weymouth. His ancestral castle was one of the most impressive in England, and the lineage of his family was one of the oldest in the country. He was a man of great personal distinction and of exemplary character, and the King and Queen were so favourably impressed by his acquaintance that they actually stayed as his guests during one of their visits to Lulworth. It was the first time that a Hanoverian King had accepted the hospitality of a Catholic subject. Mr Weld was, through a succession of inheritances, one of the largest landowners in England, and he dispensed his great wealth with superb generosity; largely in aid of his Church and particularly in giving relief to the refugees from France during the revolution; so that both the King and Pitt became personally aware of his beneficence. It was his elder brother Edward who married Mrs Fitzherbert when she left school, and though she had to leave Lulworth after his death and soon married again, the Weld family always occupied a special position in relation to the Court. Thomas Weld's son, another Thomas, who had married a Miss Bodenham, had inherited the Castle when his father died. His wife died during

the Napoleonic wars, and his daughter had married Lord Clifford when, as a widower, he decided to enter the priesthood.

Living quietly in Rome after his ordination, he was soon consecrated a bishop as coadjutor to a see in Canada which he never had to visit. He moved naturally in the exalted circles; and when Pius VIII died after occupying the Papal throne for only two years, Pope Gregory XVI decided to nominate him as the first English Cardinal. The new Pope, as Cardinal Capellari, had been for years in charge of the Propaganda College, which controlled all English affairs. He was an intimate friend of young Mgr Wiseman, and had even promised to correct the proofs of the book which he had urged him to write. Henceforward their relations were to be more official, as between the Pope and the rector of the English College, who had now become the Roman agent of the English bishops. And Wiseman's natural gifts for diplomacy and his social talents were to be in constant demand to assist Cardinal Weld in the official duties for which he had neither previous training nor any natural aptitude. At least he had been accustomed in England to living in very spacious and dignified surroundings; and he had no difficulty in establishing an entourage of suitable dignity and importance when he went to live at the Odescalchi Palace. It soon became the recognized centre for English Catholic activities in Rome; and it was there, for instance, that Wiseman delivered his celebrated lectures on "The Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion". It was a time when English fashionable society flocked to Rome every spring, and the English Cardinal soon acquired definite functions, as his country's principal representative in Rome.

Apart from entertaining and holding receptions, he was at times required to intervene in matters which involved the temporal as well as the ecclesiastical rights of the Holy See. Ullathorne records¹ an extraordinary incident of these years which illustrates the many problems that arose in that period of transition. Three "young Englishmen of good family" had come out to Rome and were staying with their sister, when they one day encountered Pope Gregory XVI "walking in the suburbs in his white silk costume in advance of his carriage and guards".

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 129.

The young men actually refused to make way for him on the path, though they saw that he would be obliged to step down into a mud-hole.

The Pope stood a moment, and said in Italian : "Look gentlemen," pointing to his white garments downwards and then to the road. They gave a stifled laugh and moved onwards together in the dry path. The Pope stepped into the mud, as he afterwards described it to Cardinal Weld, almost to the knees. His carriage came up. He got into it, rode to the Vatican and sent for Cardinal Weld.

The Cardinal apparently referred the matter at once to the Marquis of Anglesey, "who was then at the head of the British circle in Rome". He refused at first to believe that the culprits could be Englishmen, but the fact was soon confirmed. Cardinal Weld then sent his brother-in-law, Mr Bodenham, to their house and he informed them in the Cardinal's name that if they did not apply for their passports at once, the house would be entered by the police.

More difficult of solution were the ecclesiastical problems which were entrusted to the Cardinal. For instance, he was suddenly appointed to supersede Bishop Baines in the extremely contentious and complicated negotiations concerning Downside, when the bishop's high-handed attitude had produced a deadlock. Australia also came within his province, when he invited Ullathorne to Rome to report, as a young priest, on his experiences and proposals concerning the convict system there. But even in England the chaotic conditions prevailing required far more practical knowledge and acquaintance with the clergy and the Vicars Apostolic than he possessed. It was naturally assumed by the other Cardinals that he was thoroughly conversant with them. Unfortunately he was also assumed to be completely familiar with the problems of the American bishops. They, like the English Vicars Apostolic, employed Mgr Wiseman as their agent in Rome while he was rector of the English College; and one of Wiseman's letters to Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore reveals the extraordinary confusion that sometimes arose from the Cardinal's lack of experience. Writing¹ on 13

¹ *Dublin Review*, October 1918.

April, 1833, Wiseman had to explain one particularly distressing misunderstanding:

Your Grace will have doubtless learnt that the new division or determination of Dioceses in the United States has not been acceded to. It may be of use to you to know something of the secret history of the business, though it may not be very fit for profane ears. The Cardinals of the Congregation place the most complete confidence in Cardinal Weld for all business regarding England and America, though necessarily his previous choice of life can in no ways have qualified him for the slightest acquaintance with the ecclesiastical affairs of either. His eminence somehow or other imagined that Dr England, whom he had consulted, was opposed to the new limitation, and accordingly voted against it and drew the majority after him. Upon conferring afterwards with the Bishop, he was quite dismayed at finding that he had gone exactly contrary to his opinions and wishes; and he expressed himself to a friend of mine in terms of great regret at having by his mistake caused such a decision.

Another still more extraordinary blunder influenced the determination of this affair. The map used upon the occasion not having room for the prolonged tract of Florida without enlarging the size of the sheet, this province was detached and represented separately in a small frame in some vacant corner of the map. Now Your Grace must know that Geography is not a branch of education in Italy, and in consequence their Eminences considering that the real place of Florida, decided that the proposed demarcation could not be adopted as it united Florida in jurisdiction with Louisiana, I think, from which it was separated by such a vast tract of ocean. This will hardly appear credible, but I give it from undoubted authority.

By the summer of 1837, when Cardinal Weld died unexpectedly in Rome, so much had been happening in England that it was obviously necessary to appoint as his successor some English ecclesiastic who had greater natural abilities and a real acquaintance with the many complicated problems which were arising. The choice of possible candidates was still extremely restricted, and it was desirable that he should belong to one of the old aristocratic families. There had been a series of deplorable misunderstandings between the Holy See and the Vicars Apostolic, who had unconsciously created an impression

that they resented Roman interference, partly by neglect or delay in answering official communications and partly because they so seldom came to visit Rome. Fortunately, there was now available a young prelate of exceptional diplomatic abilities who combined close relationship to the Catholic aristocracy with a thorough experience of Roman ways. Mgr Charles Acton was one of the old family whose seat was at Aldenham Hall in Shropshire.

Born in 1803, he was still in his early thirties and a year younger than Mgr Wiseman. His father, Sir John Francis Acton, had settled in Italy and entered the service of the King of Naples. He even became the King's Prime Minister, but returned to live in England when he inherited the family estates. He died when his two sons were still children and their education was entrusted to guardians who trained them for the life of country gentlemen in England. Charles Acton went to Cambridge and completed his course there; but as a Catholic, he could not graduate.

He then left England for Rome to study for the priesthood and was ordained there in the Academia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici. He rose rapidly in the Papal diplomatic service and early in 1837 he was appointed Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, a position which almost inevitably leads to promotion as Cardinal. He visited England, for the funeral of his brother during the same year, and learnt much of English conditions and particularly of the difficulties which had caused misunderstanding in Rome. One of the main problems had been the old dispute concerning the rights of the religious orders, which made it so difficult for the Vicars Apostolic to exercise real authority. Another was the rapid increase of Catholic population in the four Districts, which overwhelmed the Vicars Apostolic with the need for more parochial clergy and more churches. Harassed by these constant problems, and without possessing proper secretarial or other assistance, the English bishops were easily irritated by decisions in Rome which seemed to ignore their special difficulties. They tended to stress their own problems and to take exception to all suggestions made from a distance; and they lacked experience of the diplomatic procedure, which required more deference than they were

inclined to show. Bishop Griffiths in London particularly had given serious offence during his last visit to Rome by tactlessly protesting that the number of Catholics in and about London was now "equal to the whole population of the Eternal City".

To remove these superficial discords and to give the utmost assistance to the English bishops in the difficulties that surrounded them, became the ambition of young Mgr Acton when he returned to Rome from his visit to England. Cardinal Weld died during the summer, and Acton and Wiseman thereafter became chiefly responsible in Rome for the management of English affairs. Wiseman had by this time completed his protracted visitation in England and had made up his mind that his life's work was to lie there, and that his career as an oriental scholar must be abandoned. Both he and Mgr Acton had become thoroughly conversant with the growing demand in England for the restoration of a full hierarchy. But Acton particularly considered that the time for so decisive a change had not come yet. There had been so much friction on domestic questions between the English bishops in many matters during the past fifty years, and they were so unaccustomed to normal and regular communications with the Holy See, that he was strongly opposed to investing them with full authority. The English, he said,¹ "throughout their history had been factious, and opposed to authority, and were not to be entrusted with more and more independent power". He prepared for the Pope personally a long memorandum setting forth his own view of the question; but he urged strongly that relief should be given by increasing the number of the Vicars Apostolic. That compromise had already been suggested by Bishops Walsh and Griffiths in their last visit to the Holy See, when Dr Griffiths had made his unfortunate remark about London containing more Catholics than Rome, in attempting to impress the authorities.

Lingard, as usual, was being consulted on all sides. Acton quoted from Lingard's history of England to prove how factious the English Catholics had always been, but he asked Lingard for entirely frank advice on the present problem. "I mean to be very plain," Lingard told² one of his correspondents, "and to tell him that if the members of the Propaganda lived in

¹ Mgr Ward's *Sequel*, I, p. 158.

² *Life of Lingard*, pp. 264-5.

England, and not in Italy, they would act very differently from what they do. I shall insist that the new bishops, or rather that all, be bishops-in-ordinary." But his advice was overruled. The number of Vicars Apostolic was duly increased in July 1840 from four to eight, and Wiseman returned definitely to England as coadjutor to Bishop Walsh in the Central District. There was considerable distrust of Wiseman already among the bishops. It was believed that he had failed to support their bolder views and had favoured Acton's compromise. But Mgr Acton already commanded confidence as an extremely able and straightforward young prelate who had a genuine understanding of English problems and who would work strenuously to be helpful. Lingard had written to Dr Rock, Lord Shrewsbury's private chaplain, shortly before the decision was taken:

At your next meeting, propose resolutions, have them signed by the chairman, and sent, not to Propaganda, but to Monsignor Acton, he is Uditore Della R. Camera Apostolica, and of course to be cardinal and protector. I think it would be policy to engage him *now*, that he may befriend us *then*. He might be told that as an Englishman we have no doubt that he would wish to put the English Church on a footing with other churches.

But these appeals to his English patriotism took little effect on Mgr Acton's deliberate and conscientious attitude, while he kept in the closest touch with the many developments that were progressing in England. He had no sympathy with the English distaste for foreign missionaries or continental devotions, and he had been deeply impressed by the earnestness and the undoubted success of Ambrose Phillipps as the sponsor of "innovations" which were far from popular. He had become acquainted with the very critical reports on the lack of apostolic fervour and of spiritual life in England which Father Gentili had sent to his Italian superiors while he was at Prior Park, and which he had expressed freely when he returned to Italy for a short time before going back to Leicestershire as chaplain to Phillipps. Father Dominic Barberi's correspondence shows that he, too, had been in touch with Mgr Acton in Rome as early as 1834. George Spencer particularly had found Acton a ready supporter for his Crusade of Prayer for the conversion of

England; and both Acton and Wiseman had been soliciting co-operation for the Crusade from convents and religious houses, while Bishop Baines and the older Catholics in England were still suspicious of so much encouragement to the Anglo-Catholic party. They had both become enthusiastic for the proposal that the Passionists should follow the Rosminians as missionaries to England; and early in 1839 Acton himself drafted the petition to the Passionists' General Chapter requesting that an English mission should be undertaken. His active support in this matter was all the more notable because the proposal was at that time being strongly discouraged in Rome by Lord Shrewsbury and Father Glover.

His intimate collaboration with Wiseman in Rome was interrupted when Wiseman returned definitely to England in the autumn of 1840; but they continued to correspond closely and to work on parallel lines. Acton had been directly instrumental in having the number of Vicars Apostolic increased from four to eight in that year. And he had been able¹ to defeat the wishes of Bishop Baines and others, that Wiseman should be given one of the new northern Districts instead of going to the Midlands as coadjutor to Bishop Walsh. Wiseman believed that he would find special scope at Oscott for establishing contact with the Tractarians and for encouraging the converts from the Oxford movement; and in this aim Acton fully supported him. Ambrose Phillipps particularly gave confirmation to his hopes, in long reports from England about the progress of religious revival in the Midlands, and about the general attitude of the Oxford men.

Wiseman's departure from the English College had left a big gap in Rome, but Acton's attractive personality and keen intelligence were quickly establishing an influence that compensated for Wiseman's loss. He had none of Wiseman's flamboyant gifts, but had a natural talent for ecclesiastical diplomacy, and his modest and saintly character commanded respect everywhere. His work soon gained the highest recognition; and he was only thirty-nine when he was made a Cardinal early in 1842. As such, he showed shrewd judgement in appointing as his secretary young Dr Grant, who was within less than ten

¹ *Dublin Review*, January 1917.

years to become the first bishop of Southwark in the restored hierarchy. Grant's conscientious diligence made him an ideal secretary; and the young Cardinal was able to hand over to him the routine duties of arranging audiences with the Pope for English visitors and other similar attentions which required tact and prudence. Grant was extremely happy in his duties and he incidentally gained invaluable and extensive knowledge of Roman administration. In private life he found Acton to be a man of deep piety and generous charity: to such an extent that he would not only empty his pockets to relieve almost any appeal of distress. He would even¹ sell his silver candlesticks and other such objects if he had not sufficient money at hand to redeem some poor person who had been imprisoned for debt.

His correspondence with England increased greatly now that there were nine bishops in England instead of four. It was concerned largely with the two great questions of the Oxford movement and the restoration of the hierarchy. Wiseman was able to report² to him at the end of 1842 that "during the twelve months there have been more converts than for ten years previously". As one instance he mentioned that on the next Sunday he was to receive twenty converts himself at Wolverhampton, "and in many other places much also is being done". He warned Acton at the same time that there had been considerable disappointment that a proper hierarchy had not been established, and fear that the compromise of having twice as many Districts might delay the hierarchy indefinitely. The learned Dr Rock, who in these matters collaborated closely with old Dr Lingard, had even set up a "Brotherhood" to promote the hierarchy, without consulting the bishops. Wiseman disapproved of this strongly; but he could not escape the general pressure for a hierarchy. Ambrose Phillipps urged it no less vehemently, when he wrote, at Acton's request, a long memorandum on the intentions and the influence of the Oxford movement. Phillipps set forth every sign or symptom that gave colour to his own hopes that the Church of England was being so rapidly catholicized from within that³ a formal union of the two Churches would become possible:

¹ *Life of Bishop Grant*, p. 37.
² *Life of Phillipps*, I, p. 237.

³ *Dublin Review*, January 1919.

This reunion of Churches will probably be preceded and hastened by the reunion of numerous individuals by political events, which will open the eyes of Statesmen to see the political advantage likely to result to the three Kingdoms from the re-establishment of Ecclesiastical Unity. . . . We must not, however, expect anything very *immediate*; an immense work remains to be done, an immense mass of prejudice remains to be cleared away; this, however, need not dishearten us, for it is wonderful how *rapidly* men are now changing for the better; what formerly was the work of a generation seems now to be accomplished in a year.

It can scarcely be doubted that Acton was misled by the exaggerated reports which Phillipps sent to him with so much earnest enthusiasm. They strengthened his conviction that the English bishops were not sufficiently alive to their opportunities, and had not enough zeal, or even imagination, to encourage the goodwill that he believed to exist on all sides. For that reason, among others, he still held firmly that they could not yet be entrusted with full management of the Church in England, and that Rome must retain its direct control through Propaganda. Yet even Phillipps was pleading earnestly for a full hierarchy, though from his own special point of view:

If this were done, Catholick Bishops would be prepared for the old Sees ready to take the place of the Anglican ones as they died off, when once Government should take the Reunion up. If we go on as we are, we shall never do much, we are so dreadfully disunited (I mean we English Catholicks), and I attribute it in a great measure to the small number of Bishops and the absence of antient holy hierarchical organization. Besides which vast numbers of Anglicans would join us at once if they could see the primitive form of Church Government restored amongst us, if they could see once more true Catholick successions given to St Augustine our Apostle, to St Anselm, St Thomas of Canterbury, and to the other Saintly Pontiffs of the English Churches.

In the same year, 1843, Bishop Baines died, and among the possible candidates for his succession was the young Benedictine, Dr Ullathorne, whose work in Australia had resulted already in the creation of the Australian hierarchy. No man could have been more obviously designated for a bishopric, with his rugged

commonsense and indomitable energy, and his born aptitude for assuming responsibility. But he was a monk at heart, and already he had succeeded in refusing several of the Australian sees. He had even avoided inclusion in the recent creation of new bishops in England. But this time there was no escape. A letter from Cardinal Acton pressed him to accept the appointment to the Western District in terms which his virile character could not refuse:

If honours and riches had gathered round the mitre which is now hanging over your Lordship's head, then perhaps your virtue might find out some motives to allege as a plea of excuse for refusing the offer. But in the present circumstances, my Lord, it is pain, trouble and labour which are offered to you, and therefore I trust that, through love for Christ and His Church, you will immediately accept the burden.

Ullathorne accepted the Western District, and within a few years he was to play a decisive part in overcoming the young Cardinal's cautious opposition to the hierarchy. One after another those who had gained close experience of the religious revival that had begun in England were insisting that the changed conditions required bolder remedies. Wiseman, who had gone back to England with the Roman view so strongly impressed upon him, was soon joining with the others in pressing for a full hierarchy. Dr Rock's daring "Brotherhood" of priests in the London District, which assumed the name Adelphi, became the nucleus of a widespread movement among the English clergy, and gained official support and approval after being gravely suspect at first. Not the least important conversions from the former view were those of Father Gentili and his colleague Father Pagani, who was later to succeed Rosmini himself as General of the Institute of Charity. Ullathorne had been strongly attracted to the Rosminians ever since his return from the convict settlements in Australia. He had found, when he brought him to Coventry to conduct a public mission there, that Gentili could exercise extraordinary influence over an English congregation. And before his consecration as bishop, Ullathorne went to Ratcliffe to make a retreat himself with Father Pagani. By that time the Rosminians had gained much

wider experience by their public missions in many parts of England, and Gentili particularly had modified his earlier view that the English clergy and their bishops were unsympathetic to apostolic enterprises.

But Cardinal Acton still doubted whether they were as zealous and enterprising as they might be, because of their long tradition of avoiding public controversy in a Protestant country, and their instinctive repugnance towards public manifestations of religious life. He remembered their definite hostility towards the importation of Italian missionaries, and particularly towards the Passionists, whom he had personally assisted in their desire to start work in England. And as the stream of converts from the Tractarian movement increased, until Newman himself made his submission to the Italian Passionist Father Dominic Barberi, he still considered that the English clergy viewed the converts with coldness and with suspicion, instead of welcoming them with a generous charity. It was Wiseman who had befriended them, almost alone during his first years at Oscott, and they all turned to him as their recognized patron and helper when they became Catholics one by one. That fact in itself strengthened Acton's suspicions, for he knew well what hostility there had been towards Wiseman after his return to England: and he did not realize how Wiseman's own views were changing through contact with the English clergy, who were so much more zealous in practice than they appeared to be in their rather querulous reports to Rome.

When Newman had made his submission in October 1845, Cardinal Acton counted so much upon the results of his conversion that Newman himself had to warn him against hoping for too much. Acton sent a personal letter to Newman which touched him greatly by its kindness. The letter has apparently never been published, but Newman's reply to it, which indicates the generous sympathy that had inspired it, is quoted in the *Apologia*:

To me indeed personally it is of course an inestimable gain: but persons and things look great at a distance, which are not so when seen close: and, did your Eminence know me, you would see that I was one, about whom there has been far more talk for

good and bad than he deserves, and about whose movements far more expectation has been raised than the event will justify. . . . My powers will, I fear, disappoint the expectation of both my own friends, and of those who pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

If I might ask of your Eminence a favour, it is that you would kindly moderate those anticipations. Would it were in my power to do, what I do not aspire to do!

In fact Newman's reception by Catholics everywhere after his conversion was almost overwhelming in its friendliness. Wiseman and Bishop Walsh immediately provided a home for him and his companions, at Old Oscott, which they renamed Maryvale. In his tour of the principal Catholic houses he was greeted with the utmost cordiality and sympathy. Everything was done to hasten his ordination in Rome, and he was even encouraged and urged to form a new religious society of Oratorians in which he and his convert friends could remain together as Catholic priests. Wiseman was recognized at once and thenceforward as the dominating figure among the English bishops, because his faith in Newman's sincerity had been so fully vindicated; and in that changed atmosphere all Wiseman's earlier reservations about the attitude of the English Catholics were swept aside.

Even in distant Rome the young Cardinal's caution was losing its former influence, though his own view remained unaltered. His secretary, Dr Grant, had after a few years been appointed Rector of the English College in succession to Dr Baggs; and, with no loss of personal affection and regard for Acton, he soon became one of the most influential and active advocates for restoration of the hierarchy. He was now, as Wiseman had been formerly, agent for the English bishops and he became an earnest and most skilful promoter of their desires. The month of June 1846 brought a transformation in Rome when Gregory XVI died and was succeeded as Pope by Pius IX. Years of difficult dealings with the English Vicars Apostolic, while he was Prefect of Propaganda before his election as Pope, had left Gregory XVI strongly prejudiced against any proposal to enhance their authority. Now a new Pope, with an enterprising and liberal character, assumed charge when conditions in England had so greatly changed. Very soon the English

bishops decided to make a bolder move, and Bishop Griffiths in London organized a formal petition to the Holy See, which they all signed. It was arranged that Bishops Sharples and Wiseman should go to Rome as their delegates to press their views.

As soon as the question was raised, Cardinal Acton's earlier memorandum of 1839 was brought out again and his personal opposition was unabated. There was the special difficulty that not one of the English bishops was of sufficiently outstanding personality to make a suitable head of the proposed hierarchy, except Wiseman who was still only a coadjutor. Without some commanding figure at its head the "factious spirit" of the new hierarchy must be expected to produce chaos. But Dr Sharples and Wiseman were already making preparations for their mission to Rome, when Cardinal Acton died suddenly in Naples in June at the age of forty-five. The opposition of Gregory XVI had vanished with his death a year earlier: and now Acton's opposition also had come to an end. The chief remaining difficulty was Bishop Griffiths in the London District. It was indisputable that, in spite of his solid virtues and his untiring industry, he was not of the calibre to lead a hierarchy; and as he was not yet fifty, the deadlock looked almost insoluble. But in August he, too, died suddenly from overwork; and within a fortnight the new Pope had appointed Wiseman to act as temporary Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

A new phase had thus opened unexpectedly in which all difficulties had been removed. But among the influences which contributed most to persuade the new Pope to go boldly forward, not least had been the intervention of the Rosminian missionary Father Gentili. His reports from England, during his earlier years there, had created a lasting impression; and they had weighed heavily in strengthening Cardinal Acton's doubts about the risk of withdrawing direct control by Propaganda over English affairs. It was Acton who had instructed him to write now a full series of reports on English conditions in the light of his later experience; and this series of seven confidential reports which he sent to Rome made a deep impression there. His reports have never been published, but their general tenor is well known. It may be gathered from Ullathorne's tribute to him in his Autobiography, in which he describes the last pro-

tracted public mission that Gentili and Father Furlong preached in Bristol after Ullathorne had assumed charge of the Western District. The mission, though most successful, was so exhausting that it was followed by Gentili's death in Dublin a few months afterwards. But he saw Ullathorne frequently while the mission lasted, and they had intimate conversations.

He said much about his English experience and very much regretted his earlier and less informed judgement upon the English clergy. He especially regretted having written so much to Rome which subsequent knowledge had corrected in his mind. He told me that the many missions he had given convinced him that the English priests knew best how to manage the English mind and to make their work secure by avoiding that haste, precipitancy and public excitement which defeated itself by awaking the adversary to vigilance and to counteracting efforts. He hoped, he said, to do justice to the English clergy, to their steady silent prudent labours and their self-denial.

Yet Gentili's earlier complaints had been so well founded that Ullathorne himself was to write in terms of outspoken condemnation of the regime at Prior Park as he found it when he became Vicar Apostolic. He was scandalized when he read through the correspondence that had passed between Pope Gregory XVI and Bishop Baines on the subject of his pastoral letter which objected to devotion to the Sacred Heart. "In that correspondence," writes Ullathorne, "nothing can exceed the paternal kindness and forbearance of the Pope, whilst the replies to his letters are offensive, sarcastic and filled with the spirit of retort." There had been a complete change of atmosphere in the ten years that followed; but it was not surprising that Cardinal Acton, with so little direct experience in England and such an intimate knowledge of how affairs appeared in Rome, should have hesitated to the last before accepting the petition from the Vicars Apostolic that they should be invested with the full powers of bishops in ordinary.

DENIS GWYNN

NOTES ON RECENT WORK

ECCLESIASTICAL ARTS AND CRAFTS

"**N**O great nation has destroyed so preponderant a part of its own artistic heritage as ours. A responsibility, therefore, of unique gravity now rests upon our town-planners, architects, artists, craftsmen and patrons. There is so much to be done, and that by a generation which cannot in justice be called a generation of great builders, and among whom fine artists and craftsmen are not sufficiently numerous to perform the tasks that should be required of them. It is plain then that we can ill afford mistakes."

Thus writes Mr John Rothenstein, Director and Keeper of the Tate Gallery, in his Introduction to a recently published handbook on Church building.¹ How true this is we are made to realize when we read the report written about 1500 by the Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador to London. After praising the size and splendour of the churches not only of London, but of the whole country, and saying how amazed he was by the richness and beauty of the Shrines of St Edward the Confessor and St Thomas of Canterbury, he wrote that "in a single street leading to St Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmith's shops so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London . . . above all are their riches displayed in the church treasures, candlesticks, censers, pattens and cups of silver; nor is there a convent of mendicant friars so poor, as not to have all these same articles in silver. . . . Your Magnificence may therefore imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian and Cistercian monasteries must be."²

Since then we have suffered, not only from the devastation of the Puritans after the Reformation, but in our own times

¹ *Post-War Church Building, a Practical Handbook*. Edited by Ernest Short. 220 pp., 52 plates, Text illustrated. Crown 4to. (Hollis & Carter. 1935.)

² Quoted in *Thomas More*, by R. W. Chambers (Cape, 1935), p. 105.

from the further destruction of two Great Wars, the last of which has deprived us of many of our remaining treasures, and reduced to ruins some of our finest churches.

When we look now towards the future, it is not merely a question of replacement or of starting over again a work that has been destroyed. For in designing new churches the emphasis is no longer on conceiving a plan the realization of which would require merely skill and the necessary funds. We are faced today with entirely fresh problems, the chief of which is the difficulty of obtaining building materials, to say nothing of the legal formalities to be observed before these can reach us. Government departments, local authorities, permits, licences, these are the materials that we have to mould and cajole, and from which eventually we may hope to produce our church. The church-builder of the future is faced with no easy task, and much as he may wish to raise to the glory of God a house of splendour and permanent beauty, he will have to be content with something much simpler than his ideas.

The churches of old reflect a disregard for time; they were the products of several generations, of local brains and craftsmanship, each contributing an offering in stone, gold and silver, and the finest woodwork, all animated by the traditions of the countryside. They were a lasting tribute to God from the hands of His people.

The churches of today reflect the urgency of time; they are the product of a year's work, perhaps less; thrown up as quickly as possible in order to house the ever increasing numbers of those who wish to hear Mass, built with a consciousness that perhaps they are not destined to stand for long. They are bound therefore to echo a simplicity, almost a crudity, that is partly a reaction to the florid imitations of the last generation but one, but is chiefly born of necessity at a time when four walls and a roof have once again their original meaning.

Between the two Great Wars we had time to study again the masterpieces of our ancestors and to learn from the errors of our forefathers: the modern expression "good taste" came into being. In the case of churches, the first efforts were inclined to err by over-simplification and a tendency towards "smartness". But with the liturgical revival came a new enthusiasm; old

altars were pulled down and new ones erected ; elaborate superstructures were dismantled and attention was focused once again on the altar itself ; and, in accordance with the new canon law, the baldachino and the tester began to reappear.

The Second Great War, during which we learned again to live near to the realities of life and death, and the uneasy peace which we are now experiencing, are having their effect in the world of religious art. At first there was a sort of "make-do" policy : the essential repairing of damage. But now that we are faced with a situation that is resolving itself into one not unlike that of the first centuries of our era, but on a much larger scale, there is a new feeling abroad. Christianity and positive paganism are lining up again as opposing forces, each striving for supremacy, each showing that it is impossible for both to rule the world ; the one teaching more clearly than ever that this life is one of trial and suffering in preparation for the next, the other denying the very existence of God, and endeavouring to make a heaven of this earth.

It is not surprising therefore, when we turn to contemporary art, to find the complacent and "pretty-pretty" going to the wall. The great Christian truths are being restated in paint and stone with almost terrifying sincerity, and with equal blatancy on the other hand there is the denial of the Fall and the glorification of the Natural Man. A real pagan art is again manifest as a powerful instrument of propaganda, and a real Christian culture comparable to that of Constantine is emerging from our present necessity. Gone are the days of florid altar-pieces, smiling statues and quaint oleographs. At a time when the Cross is being carried again through our streets, it is the Cross itself and the eternal truths of the Incarnation and Redemption that artists are striving to portray by every means in their power, and at times with an urgency that almost approaches the hideous.

It is therefore with particular interest that one opens a book entitled *Post-War Church Building*, and in view of the above sentiments the subtitle "a practical handbook" offers food for speculation. The work under consideration is in fact a courageous effort, first to enlighten us on the difficulties ahead, and then, in a series of concise articles each written by an expert in his own

sphere, to suggest solutions. The introductory chapters survey the post-war position. Stanley Eley, Prebendary of St Paul's, N. F. Cachemaille-Daye, and Sir Charles Nicholson offer useful information regarding the place of the church in the modern town, and suggested plans are drawn up not only for new buildings but for the reconstruction and enlargement of those already existing. The question of style and surroundings is freely discussed. The problem of Acoustics is dealt with by Hope Bagenal; Heating, Lighting, and ventilation by Bertram Shore. There are articles on Church Windows, Bells, Organs, Pulpits, and indeed on every subject connected with the business of fitting and furnishing. Owing to the inter-denominational character of the book, separate articles are devoted to the Catholic altar and the Anglican altar, by Geoffrey Webb and Dr Francis Eeles respectively. It is here that the work seems to fail in its objective; the attempted compromise contains the unavoidable implication that, apart from a few refinements, a common design and line of thought can be employed for housing either denomination.

Moreover, whereas much of the practical information is useful, the illustrations, which are profuse, are either representative of pre-war work and therefore pre-war materials, or where they are up to date, show such a paucity of design (with a few exceptions notably by J. N. Comper and Dunstan Pruden) that they rather suggest utility in the modern sense, and offer little guidance for the future. They are, in fact, typical of the last two decades in their lack of inspiration, and seem quite out of touch with the great movement now generally in progress. In the words of Maurice Lavanoux, "the illustrations in this book should not disturb anyone, and no matter how much the contributors laboured to give both sides of these questions, it is quite evident that they yearn for the good old days and they accept our times as an unfortunate necessity".¹

A perusal of the last three Numbers of the American *Liturgical Arts* well illustrates the point in question. For we are shown not only designs that, without any conscious attempt to reconstruct or imitate a past style, seem to spring fresh from the roots of the Faith, but also sincere and successful efforts to

¹*Liturgical Arts*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 83.

improve existing buildings that have, until now, had to suffer from encumbrances, often costly, but liturgically unsound and of no artistic value.

In England at present the emphasis seems unfortunately to be on imitation, on the careful resurrection of outmoded styles in modern materials, as though the creative urge that gave us our tradition were dead. But, at the risk of appearing unpatriotic, it must be said that in this respect we are rather the exception than the rule, for it is far from being the case abroad. In Holland, Belgium, France and Austria there is a new spirit: witness the recent improvements at the great Abbey of Maria Laach, or the enterprising work of Canon Pius Parsch in the tiny church of Klosterneuburg, to mention only two. In America, particularly, the best work is typified by a purity and freshness that can perhaps come only from a nation still young in its culture. The chapel of St Paul in St Anne's Rectory, Boston, and Loretto Heights College, Colorado, are good examples. In each case the subject of Dedication seems to permeate the whole building. The two designs submitted for the new church in Manila in the Philippines are both worthy of attention, for previously these islands have been in the grip of a heavy Spanish influence, and a consequent style not only quite unsuited to the climate, but also failing to meet the need for any modern building in these parts to be earthquake-proof. Barry Byrne's plan for dealing with large centres of Catholic population, which is to appear shortly in Fr Gerald Ellard, S.J.'s, book, *The Mass of the Future*, is something quite new in church design, but eminently suitable.

In all these schemes, and in many others, there is this evidence of a new spirit emerging: a realization that mere reconstruction is not sufficient, still less a reproduction, however modernized, of what has gone before. To this spirit all praise is due. For it is not in the imitation of others, but through the idiom of our own generation that our realization of the truths of the Faith can be completely expressed.

About a mile from the ancient Abbey of Waltham lies the busy industrial parish of Waltham Cross. Here, in 1935, was erected a charming modern Romanesque church, designed by Mr T. B. Scott, and dedicated to the Immaculate Conception

and St Joseph. Conceived in brick, reddish outside, with a short tower, and a duller yellowish hue inside, it was fitted originally with a temporary wooden altar which, though inadequate, rendered good service until early this year when the present parish priest judged that the time had come for something more permanent.

Owing to the uniform tone of the interior of the church, the need was felt for colour. The first step was to erect a set of coloured bas-relief stations of the Cross with gilded backgrounds; and this had the effect of brightening the walls considerably.

Various schemes were then considered for the Sanctuary, every effort being made towards liturgical correctness. The curved apse and rounded arches suggested the need of a baldachino rather than a tester to cover the altar. The general scheme was conceived by Mr Anthony Bartlett of the Church-furnishing Department of Burns, Oates & Washbourne, to whom the work was entrusted, and he is certainly to be congratulated. The actual designs for the altar and baldachino were drawn up by Mr E. M. Reader of Fenning & Co., whose work at Westminster and Buckfast needs no recommendation. The result speaks for itself, as may be seen from the illustrations in the Supplement to the present number of *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, pp. vi and vii.

In order to keep down the cost, the work was carried out in "Scagiola", or synthetic marble, with the exception of the altar itself and the two piscinas. These are in "Roman Stone", which is in fact not a stone but a marble. The effect is surprisingly successful, and when a high polish is applied, the synthetic marble is almost indistinguishable from the genuine article.

The main panels of the apse and pillars of the baldachino suggest "cippollino", while the canopy is constructed of carved wood and plaster, painted cream and off-white, picked out with gold. The frieze is of a rich golden siena, intersected with chevrons of bright red and white. The medallion depicting the Triumphant Lamb is in mosaic, and above it in scarlet is the text: "Panem celestem accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo."

Various practical points had to be taken into consideration in the planning. The pillars of the baldachino had to be so

placed as to allow free access to the altar. The steps (three, with a wooden predella) are of "Terrazzo", curved in front to allow the maximum floor space. The mensa itself had to be free of unnecessary encumbrances such as gradines, and is constructed from a single piece of Sicilian marble. The tabernacle, which is of the revolving type, complies with the canonical regulations, and its marble plinth has been undercut to enable the altar cloths to be laid straight across the altar. Suitable arrangements had to be made for the Benediction throne, which can be fixed into the shaft normally occupied by the Crucifix, and for the storage of spare frontals, which are accommodated at the rear of the altar by the same system as for hanging them in the front: namely a bar being run through the top of the frontal which fixes neatly into four clips attached to the altar. These are concealed by the gold superfrontal which is permanent except for the penitential seasons, when the reverse side, which is purple, can be used. The altar furniture (Crucifix, Candlesticks, Cards and Missal-stand) form a set. These were designed by Burns & Oates and are executed in hand-carved gilded wood. The general effect, with its rich colours, is enhanced by a system of flood lighting recently installed.

A similar Sanctuary, designed by Mr Reader and executed by Fenning & Co. in 1946, can be seen in the Church of Our Lady of Willesden, though this is carried out almost entirely in real marble. Here the scheme has a charm all its own, as the apse contains long rounded windows, which had to be incorporated in the design. A picture of this is reproduced in the book on Church Design already reviewed.

JOHN L. LONGSTAFF

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MARRIAGE "NIHIL OBSTAT": TRANSMISSION OF DOCUMENTS

The 1941 Instruction directs that, when the parish priests of the parties belong to different dioceses, the documents shall be

transmitted by the respective curial officials. In some dioceses, however, the transmission is done directly between the two parish priests concerned. Does this mean that an indult has been obtained? (X.)

REPLY

Sacrosanctum, S.C. Sacram, 29 June, 1941 : Ast, cum parochi sunt diversae dioecesis, documentorum istorum paroecialium transmissio fiat per tramitem cancellariae Curiae Episcopalis dioecesis sponsi . . . ad sponsae parochum. . . .

Indults may have been obtained in addition to the one published in this REVIEW, 1948, XXIX, p. 194, but there seems no need for an indult permitting the transmission of documents to be done directly between the parish priests, instead of through curial officials, since the *praecipit* of the Sacred Congregation applies to the curial *nihil obstat* not to the method of transmitting it. In principle, *Sacrosanctum* is meant to strengthen the authority of the bishops (n. 3) by suggesting rules for their acceptance, except only where it is clear, as in the granting of a *nihil obstat*, that some new direction is not only recommended but imposed by the Sacred Congregation.

Many of the commentaries we have examined, some issued with express episcopal approval, take for granted that the recommendation of *Sacrosanctum* on the transmission of documents is to be observed: e.g. *Guide Pratique* for the diocese of Evreux, p. 35. Also some Ordinaries have directed this method to be followed by parish priests within their jurisdiction: e.g. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1947, p. 256.

One of the best commentaries is that in *Collationes Brugenses*, 1946, pp. 61-72. The writer notes that in Bruges the local law promulgated 24 June, 1942, requires transmission through the Bruges curia, but he also observes correctly: "Transmissio documentorum ad parochum alias dioecesis per tramitem Curiae episcopalis valde urgetur in laudata Instructione ('fiat semper per tramitem') quin explicite dicatur id a S. Congregatione praecipi."

Accordingly, the clergy have only to follow the instructions of their own Ordinaries, and any difficulties arising through the

practice of the two dioceses concerned being different must be settled by the respective curial officials. Transmission through the diocesan curia is simpler and has the advantage of reducing postal expenses, but until the Sacred Congregation declares otherwise, it cannot be said, we think, that this method is of strict obligation; therefore, no indult is strictly required to justify a different method.

EPISCOPAL INDULGENCES

A bishop has granted 100 days' indulgence to the recital of a prayer, at the request of a pious association, and the prayer is being circulated throughout the country. Do the faithful of other dioceses gain this indulgence? (D.)

REPLY

Canon 349, §2.2. A capta vero possessione Episcopi residentiales habent praeterea ius . . . concedendi indulgentias quinq*uaginta dierum in suae iurisdictionis locis.*

Canon 925, §1. Ut quis capax sit sibi lucrandi indulgentias, debet esse . . . subditus concedentis.

Canon 927. Nisi aliud ex concessione tenore appareat, indulgentias ab Episcopo concessas lucrari possunt tum subditi extra territorium, tum peregrini, vagi, omnesque exempti in territorio degentes.

S.C. Indulg., 12 January, 1878, 2; *Fontes*, n. 5081: Potestne Episcopus fidelibus dioecesis non suae indulgentias concedere si Ordinarius loci consentit. . . . *Resp.* Negative. . . .

26 May, 1898, 1; *Fontes*, n. 5130. An Indulgentiae quas Episcopus concedit valeant intra limites suae dioecesos, an vero etiam extra? *Resp.* Affirmative ad 1 partem; negative ad 2, nisi agatur de subditis Episcopi concedentis, et Indulgentiis personalibus.

The principle which limits an episcopal indulgence to the place and persons under his jurisdiction is clear enough on the occasions when a concession is made "to all here present", as at the conclusion of a pontifical Mass. We think it must also be

applied to an episcopal indulgence attached to reciting a prayer: only those reciting the prayer gain the indulgence who come within the terms of canon 927, which expresses more clearly the ruling of *Fontes*, n. 5130. This view is supported by other decisions, for example, 7 January, 1839,¹ and by canon 1166, §3, which permits a bishop to grant certain indulgences after consecrating an altar, even though lacking jurisdiction in that territory.

But we have not found any commentator who expressly draws this conclusion from the above canons in the case of an indulged prayer: they merely state the principle and solve various other points arising therefrom.² The difficulty is, of course, that there is nothing to prevent a prayer containing an episcopal indulgence circulating amongst the faithful everywhere, and the faithful may be under the impression that the indulgence is gained by anyone who recites the prayer. We think, nevertheless, that our conclusion is correct, though we are open to conviction in the opposite sense. It must be remembered, also, that a bishop may enjoy an indult in this respect.

The number of days mentioned in canon 349 was increased by Pius XII, 20 July, 1942, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his episcopal consecration.³

RESERVATION OF PARISHES

Does the law of papal reservation apply to a parochial benefice the holder of which is a "movable" parish priest? (D.)

REPLY

Canon 192, §2. *Si agatur de officio inamovibili, Ordinarius nequit clericum eodem privare, nisi mediante processu ad normam iuris.*

§3. *Si de amovibili, privatio decerni ab Ordinario potest qualibet iusta causa, prudenti eius arbitrio, etiam citra delic-*

¹ *Decreta Authentica*, n. 266.

² *De Angelis, De Indulgentiis*, §45; *Gougnard, De Indulgentiis*, p. 27; *Beringer, Les Indulgences*, I, §68.

³ *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1943, XXIII, p. 88.

tum, naturali aequitate servata, sed certum procedendi modum sequi minime tenetur, salvo canonum praescripto circa paroecias amovibiles. . . .

Canon 454, §1. Qui paroeciae administrandae praeficiuntur qua proprii eiusdem rectores, stabiles in ea esse debent; quod tamen non impedit quominus omnes ab ea removeri queant ad normam iuris.

§2. At non omnes parochi eandem obtinent stabilitatem; qui maiore gaudent, inamovibiles; qui minore amovibiles appellari solent.

Canon 1411. Beneficia ecclesiastica dicuntur . . . 4. *Manualia, temporaria seu amovibilia, vel perpetua se inamovibilia*, prout conferuntur revocabiliter vel in perpetuum.

Canon 1435, §2. At nunquam sunt reservata, nisi id expresse dicatur, beneficia manualia. . . .

Canon 1438. Omnia beneficia saecularia ad vitam beneficiarii conferenda sunt, nisi aliud ferat vel lex fundationis, vel consuetudo immemorabilis vel peculiare indultum.

The qualification "immovable" as applied to the holder of any ecclesiastical office whatever, with the exception of the Sovereign Pontiff, merely means that a greater degree of stability is enjoyed than is the case with one who is "movable". The distinction between these two classes is not so much in their stability as in the method of removing the beneficiary: the "immovable" may be deprived only by a lengthy legal process, the "movable" without a process. But the "movable" parish priest is the one important exception to this distinction of classes, since he may insist upon a process as in canons 2157-2161, though it is far less exacting than the process in canons 2147-2156 for the removal of an "immovable" parish priest.

Hence, owing to this exception of canon 192, §3, it is not quite clear whether a "movable" parish comes within the meaning of "manualia" in canon 1435, §2. It appears to be the practice, at least occasionally, to regard the "movable" parish as subject to the law of papal reservation, and this may easily be explained by the phrase "nisi id expresse dicatur" of canon 1435, §2. But in principle, seeing that papal reservation limits the free collation of a parish, the law should be interpreted in the sense that a "movable" parish is not subject to reservation unless the

opposite is certain. This is the opinion recorded in this REVIEW, 1943, XXIII, p. 178, and 1944, XXIV, p. 91, as defended expressly by Dr Haydt in *The Jurist*, 1942, II, p. 382, who quotes in support canonists before and after the publication of the Code: "movable" parish priests possess manual benefices, and their parishes are not subject to reservation from canon 1435, §2; thus Beste, *Introductio*, 1946, p. 725.

CONSECRATION OF A COMMUNITY CHAPEL

If the building is otherwise capable of being consecrated, is there any prohibition against it, having in mind the building's character as merely a semi-public oratory? (Z.)

REPLY

Canon 1165, §3. Sollempni consecratione dedicentur ecclesiae cathedralis et, quantum fieri potest, ecclesiae collegiatae, conventuales, paroeciales.

Canon 1191, §1. Oratoria publica eodem jure quo ecclesiae reguntur.

Canon 1196, §1. Oratoria domestica nec consecrari nec benedici possunt more ecclesiarum.

S.R.C., 5 June, 1899, n. 4025.5. In oratoriis autem, quae existunt in aedibus episcopalibus, Seminariis, Hospitalibus Dominus regularium, relativum Titularis festum non celebrabitur, nisi in casu quo aliqua ex iis consecrata vel benedicta sollemniter fuerint.

There is no law expressly prohibiting the solemn consecration of a semi-public oratory, and the chapels of all religious communities, no matter what the size of the building may be, belong to this class from canon 1188, §2.2: "si in commodum alicuius communitatis vel coetus fidelium eo convenientium erectum sit, neque liberum cuique sit illud adire". The buildings enumerated in S.R.C., n. 4025, are all semi-public oratories and the reply assumes that, in some instances, they will be consecrated.

The consecration of such is, nevertheless, unusual, and the

writers for the most part take it for granted that these chapels will lack the permanence required from canon 1165, §2. But it might happen that, for one reason or another, a convent chapel is larger and more permanently constructed than many parish churches. It is for the Ordinary to use his discretion, either declining to consecrate the chapel since this is not the usual practice, or deciding to consecrate for appropriate reasons since there is no law against it. Thus Many, *De Locis Sacris*, §102.3: "Attamen, praesertim si agatur de cappella principali alicuius communitatis, quae sit definitive et in perpetuum dedicata cultui divino, potest benedici, imo, licet rarissime, consecrari; nec desunt exempla huiusmodi oratoriorum consecratorum."

PERPETUAL ADORATION

Is there any law, or at least a strong recommendation of the Church, that Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament shall be so arranged, e.g. the XL Hours, that it shall be in some church or other throughout the diocese at every moment of the year? (R.)

REPLY

Canon 1275. *Supplicatio Quadaginta Horarum in omnibus ecclesiis paroecialibus aliisque, in quibus sanctissimum Sacramentum habitualiter asservatur, statutis de consensu Ordinarii loci diebus, maiore qua fieri potest sollemnitate quotannis habeatur; et sicubi ob peculiaria rerum adiuncta nequeat sine gravi incommodo et cum reverentia tanto sacramento debita fieri, curet loci Ordinarius ut saltem per aliquot continuas horas, statis diebus, sanctissimum Sacramentum sollemniore ritu exponatur.*

I Westm., XVIII, 10. Utque pietas fidelis populi augeatur, videtur summopere expedire ut oratio Quadraginta horarum per totam Angliam statuatur, ita ut nullum sit temporis punctum, in quo Domino Nostro, in hoc Sacramento graviter offenso, expiatio aliqua non offeratur, precesque pro Ecclesiae pace ac animarum salute fundantur.

Information about the origins of perpetual adoration,

necessary for replying to the question, may be read in an article in this journal by Rev. J. McKenna, 1933, VI, p. 186; in *Dict. Théol.*, I, col. 422; or in commentaries on the *Clementine Instruction*.

Its origin under Capucin influences at Milan in 1534, and every later development in its various forms, had principally in view the idea of reparation to the divine majesty for the sins of men: hence the three days preceding Lent (the carnival period) was the time first chosen for continuous adoration, a custom which still exists in many places. Introduced into Rome by St Philip Neri, it became highly favoured by the Holy See, and a Bull of Clement VIII in 1592 established it for the Holy City throughout the year, in one church or another. In 1731 Clement XII issued the Instruction, with which everyone is familiar, formulating the liturgical rules to be observed, and from the beginning many indulgences were attached to the devotion.

Outside Rome, perpetual adoration, whether throughout the year, or throughout some period such as Lent, is obligatory only so far as the local Ordinary has determined in his regulations for the observance of canon 1275. The law requiring at least a modified form of XL Hours falls directly on parish churches: the consent of the Ordinary is required in order that, in the measure desired by him, exposition of the Blessed Sacrament may be held successively in all churches of the diocese throughout a given period. The period might be Lent, or Advent, or even the whole year. There is no common law on the point, since obviously local conditions vary considerably, and even a limited form of "perpetual" Exposition is impossible in some places. When the devotion first began to spread outside Rome permission was not obtained except for localities where it could be maintained in various churches throughout the year, but this rule was very soon relaxed. In the middle of last century the devotion received a new impetus, and the foundation of religious Institutes of women devoted expressly to perpetual adoration has secured that, in the dioceses in which their houses exist, there is always Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament day and night throughout the year.

In addition to implementing canon 1275, the Holy See occasionally, and local Ordinaries quite often, enjoin Exposition at

times of unusual crisis, and it may take the form of a chain of observances in different churches for a given period.

S.C. Conc., 14 July, 1941,¹ issued an Instruction urging that the devotion of the people should be centred on the Mass, at times of national crisis, rather than on other acts of divine worship, and there is an echo of this in the Trinity Joint Pastoral, 1948, issued by the Hierarchy of England and Wales, in which the faithful were urged to be present at Mass on the Feast of the Sacred Heart; Exposition on that day is also desired by the bishops.

In these days of popular liturgical worship, when indults are given right and left for the celebration of Mass at any hour of the day, one can hazard the view that a movement may be started, not supplanting but co-existing with perpetual Exposition, for having Mass "perpetually" at every hour of the day, from the rising of the sun to its setting, in each diocese or large city.

MASS "IN CUBICULO"

Could permission be obtained, notwithstanding the prohibition of canon 822, §4, for a priest to celebrate Mass in the bedroom of a sick parent who is near to death? (B.)

REPLY

Canon 822, §4. *Loci Ordinarius aut, si agatur de domo religionis exemptae, Superior maior, licentiam celebrandi extra ecclesiam et oratorium super petram sacram et decenti loco, nunquam autem in cubiculo, concedere potest iusta tantum et rationabili causa, in aliquo extraordinario casu et per modum actus.*

The rule seems absolute at first sight that Mass may *never* be permitted in a bedroom, and the *Code Commission*, 16 October, 1919, declared that the canon must be interpreted restrictively. Any positive law, however, may be relaxed by the appropriate authority, and the canon merely declares that granting per-

¹ THE CLEROY REVIEW, 1941, XXI, p. 365.

mission for Mass in a bedroom is excluded from the Ordinary's powers. Examples occur now and then of a priest getting permission in the circumstances described in the question,¹ though we have no information whence the faculty was obtained, whether from the Holy See or from the Ordinary possessed of an indult in addition to the faculties he usually enjoys from the Quinquennial Formula.

In fact, a survey of the many existing departures from the rule of canon 822, §4, suggests that a petition for an indult permitting a priest to say Mass in the bedroom of a dying parent would normally be granted without great difficulty. There is, firstly, the direction of *S.C. Sacram*, 30 April, 1926,² deprecating indeed the celebration of Mass in a *camera ardente*, but permitting it in certain cases. Then we have the common permission for celebrating at sea, which is included in the Faculties issued by *Propaganda*, n. 51; although the Sacred Congregation had decided that the cabin of a ship was not "decenti loco", the decision was altered a few months later, 13 August, 1902, and Mass in private cabins permitted provided all danger of irreverence was removed;³ some regulars have this faculty habitually, and it can be obtained in many countries by any priest voyager from the Apostolic Delegate. Priests belonging to the Institute of St Camillus were granted the faculty by Pius X in 1905 for use in their administrations to the sick and dying.⁴ Finally, many commentators hold that a hospital ward is not included in the word "cubiculo" of this canon.⁵

E. J. M.

¹ E.g. *Catholic Press*, 9 July, 1943.

² *A.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 388.

³ *Periodica*, 1922, p. 83.

⁴ *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Ius et Praxis, 1948, p. 179.

⁵ *Coronata, De Sacramentis*, I, §258.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ASHLEY HISTORIES

Britain in the Middle Ages, 1100-1485. By Wilfrid J. Moore.

Great Britain, 1485-1714. By Oliver J. G. Welch.

History of Britain in Modern Times, 1688-1939. By Christopher Hollis.
(Hollis & Carter. 6s. each volume.)

LINGARD, Birt, Belloc, Wilmot-Buxton, Wyatt-Davies and Gordon Smith are names which immediately come to mind when the subject of authors of Catholic histories of England is mentioned. And a glance at the list is sufficient to show that we are in need, and have been in need for many years, of a series of competent up-to-date textbooks, written by Catholics, and suitable for the upper forms of our Secondary Schools.

In *The Ashley Series*, Messrs Hollis & Carter have set out to make good this deficiency; and it may be said at once that they have, by and large, admirably succeeded. The three books here under consideration give a full, satisfactory, objective and properly balanced account of the history of this country from the end of the Norman conquest to the outbreak of World War II. It may be worth while to say something about each of them, in chronological order.

A preliminary survey of Dr Moore's volume shows that it is clearly the work of a competent and practising history teacher. The arrangement of the matter is first-rate, and the aids to learning in the form of "Date Summaries" and "Note Summaries" at the end of each chapter, with a liberal interspersing of genealogical tables and an appendix of Exercises will be welcomed by teachers everywhere. There are nine maps or charts, and a serviceable series of illustrations helps the text. From every point of view the book has the appearance of a genuinely practical piece of work. This is even more apparent when the twenty-one chapters come to be examined in more detail. The narrative is close-knit, always to the point, up to date and uniformly interesting. Dr Moore knows all about modern interpretations of Magna Carta, of the growth of Parliament, of baronial opposition to Edward II, and above all he knows the place which the Church occupied in mediaeval England. Perhaps his best chapters are those which are devoted to Mediaeval Civilization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the admirable summary of the trends of thought, political, ecclesiastical, humanist, commercial, which mark the close of the Middle Ages.

I must confess at once that I have not been able to give Dr Moore's book the searching test of use in class. But no practising teacher who has glanced through its pages or read a couple of its chapters will doubt that this is an excellent textbook for the teaching of mediaeval English History in the upper forms of our secondary schools. The demands of examinations have always made it difficult to arrange for mediaeval history to be taught in School Certificate forms. With the new examination in prospect in 1951 it may be possible to change things, and it would undoubtedly be a great gain to Catholic boys if in the fourth or fifth forms they could be given such a splendid survey of mediaeval England as is contained in Dr Moore's pages. His work is, however, definitely of upper form standard. It could make a good textbook for a school certificate in pre-certificate year. I doubt if it could be used with success lower down the school.

If Dr Moore's book can best be described as efficient and competent, Mr Welch's deserves the adjective "fascinating". Rarely have I read so interesting and absorbing a textbook. The style is racy almost to the verge of slang. The narrative is fast-moving and colourful, and the story of the Reformation in this country has never been better told in such short compass. The period covered is immense, embracing both the Tudors and the Stuarts, but in spite of compression the narrative never becomes tedious and there seems always room for both apt quotation and vivid incident. Elizabethan naval history, the tortuous story of the long Parliament, the intricacies of the secret treaty of Dover, are examples among many of successful and effective presentation. Perhaps the treatment is at its weakest in the last chapter where the very flow of words tends to obscure the issue, especially in the complicated Spanish Succession question. The book is divided into nineteen chapters; there are eight sets of genealogical tables and an excellent series of Date Summaries and Questions. There are fewer illustrations and they are less immediately useful than in Dr Moore's volume, but the maps are well conceived, though in the first edition one of them (p. 82) lacks a key.

The book has stood the test of a year's use in a fourth form and has come through with flying colours. For the clergy it should prove most valuable for placing in the hands of prospective converts who want to know something about the origins of the Church of England.

The third book of the series is from the pen of Christopher Hollis, and this alone is a guarantee that the book will be readable, lively and provocative. So indeed it is, notably in the apt chapter-headings, in the numerous footnotes which recall at once the similar style of C. H. K. Marten. The same textbook technique is used in this as in

the other volumes, but scarcely so effectively. There are "examination questions", sixteen Date Summaries and eight maps. The illustrations, however, mostly portraits, scarcely fit in with the text.

Mr Hollis has a happy gift for writing clear and connected accounts of the most complicated movements. He is especially good in his handling of colonial and imperial questions, and his account of the causes of the War of American Independence could scarcely be bettered. His comments on the Durham Report, on the Afghan Wars and on South Africa are excellent, and his last chapter is a brilliant review of the uneasy history of this country between the two world wars.

Unfortunately the scale of Mr Hollis's book is not so large as that of the two earlier volumes. The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is compressed into less than 200 pages. This means that a good deal has had to be left out and the result is something of a patch-work. The style and treatment are too mature for boys or girls in the lower school, but the material is inadequate for a School Certificate form. Among other points that would require fuller treatment are Gladstone's Land Acts and the subsequent Land Purchase Acts, the history of Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, Chartism, the Factory Acts, and the industrial unrest in the country between 1909 and 1914. In general, I have found the book strongest on the political and colonial sides, weak on domestic social history, and distinctly provocative on the question of this country's relations with Ireland.

Most of our schools quite naturally take Modern History in their upper forms. With two such remarkable predecessors, it seems a pity that the scale of Mr Hollis's book is scarcely adequate for such a purpose. Perhaps if he can find sufficient time he might be persuaded to expand his book into two volumes so as to allow a more ample treatment of English history as seen by a Catholic during the important period since the overthrow of the Stuarts.

For the series as a whole there can be nothing but praise. The publishers are to be congratulated on undertaking so necessary a work in the difficult conditions which surround book production at the present time. It is to be hoped that all these volumes will run into many editions. They will certainly be serviceable both in schools and for the general reader who wants a trustworthy Catholic account of the fortunes of this country.

ANDREW BECK, A.A.

The Life of Newman. By Robert Sencourt. (Dacre Press, Westminster. 21s.)

MR SENCOURT cannot be held responsible for the challenging claims made by his publishers for this attempt to compress "the whole Newman" into a single volume of some 300 short pages, with their suggestion that the story has remained untold because of "difficulties at every turn and some intrigues". Wilfrid Ward's immense official biography deliberately restricted Newman's life as an Anglican to one chapter; but even that in length roughly equals Mr Sencourt's account of the same period. He makes good use of some hitherto unpublished letters which are preserved at Oriel and Magdalen Colleges, but the mass of other unpublished Newman letters in many places is still enormous. The Birmingham Oratory has lent the very attractive illustrations; but it is hard to believe that the Oratorians will regard this book with the full approval which Mr Sencourt's preface implies. He has plainly taken great pains in writing it, and his impressionistic method displays his well-known literary gifts. But his treatment both of Newman's character and of various important episodes is at times unconvincing and even irritating.

For instance, the caption of one chapter "Newman's Nerves on Edge" strikes a jarring note, and it would have been less inappropriate for some earlier phases when Newman was engaged in active controversy, but certainly does not fit the phase when he deliberately sought and found peace in the industrious seclusion of Littlemore. The grotesque caricature of W. G. Ward as "Oxford's pet buffoon" is inaccurate in detail, and Mr Sencourt assumes too readily that Newman was deeply affected by the crisis which Ward's condemnation provoked. In dealing with Newman after his conversion he describes as "discoveries" for Newman what must have been well known to him for years, such as the association of "the most moving classical music" with the Sacrifice of the Mass, or that "the Catholic Church enabled him to rejoice in the society of canonized Saints".

Questions of interpreting character, however, are open to debate, and a great deal of Mr Sencourt's book is penetrating and sympathetic. A more serious defect is his emphasis upon "intrigues" which have too long been exaggerated. For instance, when the bishops invited Newman to prepare a new translation of the whole Bible without even considering the cost, and subsequently found that no one in those days could finance such an immense new publication, Mr Sencourt imputes dishonesty, and says that "finally the explanation was offered that it would mean a loss of vested interest

to the publishers and booksellers who had stocks of the old version". In a footnote he says further, without comment, "Sir Shane Leslie adds that the interests of an American bishop were also involved". His elaborate account of Manning's delay in forwarding the laymen's petition to Rome that Newman should be made a Cardinal differs little from Lytton Strachey's acrid version, though he tries to explain it with an elaborate analysis of motives. Too much attention is given to the persistent opposition of the small clique, consisting almost entirely of excited converts such as Talbot and Ward, who regarded Newman as a dangerous liberal. Did it really matter so much that one writer in the *Dublin Review* omitted Newman's name from a survey of the principal Catholic writers in England?

The welcome given to Newman by Catholics generally after his conversion continued all through his life, and found expression at last in his nomination as Cardinal with a special dispensation exempting him from residence in Rome. Whereas in his Anglican days he was forced into silence and seclusion at Littlemore for years, and found it impossible even to publish, he was given the widest scope and encouragement on becoming a Catholic. The Pope authorized him to form the Oratory in which his convert friends could work with him and under his direction. The Irish bishops invited him to found a Catholic University in Dublin, and it was even arranged that he should be made a bishop as its rector, though Wiseman's tactless intervention caused the Irish bishops to insist upon delay. His chief frustration arose from the suspicions of a few zealous converts, and from his disagreements with Manning about the admission of Catholics to the Universities. But it may be seriously questioned whether the Church did not gain rather than lose by his being left free from active duties which would have restricted his immense personal influence.

D. G.

The Size of Life. By John P. Murphy, D.D., Ph.D. Pp. vii + 157.
(Longmans. 7s. 6d.)

WHAT is the Size of Life? Dr Murphy defines it as "that way of human living which so satisfies the mind and heart of man that he knows, not only that there is nothing wanting to him, but that there can be nothing wanting". His book is therefore intended to affirm and justify the primacy of the spiritual over the temporal. It comprises four essays, on The Size of Matter, The Size of Art, The Size of Science, and The Size of Life. In the first he puts the metaphysical case for the superiority of the spiritual world over the material

in richness and variety, in intensity of reality and in ability to give true happiness to man. In the second he insists on the sovereignty of conscience and morality. In the third he contends for the supremacy of metaphysics, dogma and ethics over science.

Dr Murphy's fourth essay, which gives the title to his book, is his fundamental essay; its scope is to justify the attitude adopted and the principles invoked in the other three. It is, in fact, an outline of Christian Apologetics; an outline, because no one can present the case for the Faith adequately in the narrow compass of eighty pages. The best, and perhaps the most lucid, section of the whole book is that which deals with the credentials of Christ; but it was somewhat disappointing to find Dr Murphy contenting himself with the proofs from our Lord's character and from His miracles, and omitting in this context all reference to the Resurrection. No doubt this is due to the exigencies of space. The author is less satisfying in his demonstration of the divine origin of the Church. He argues mainly from the Gospels and from the four marks, but he weakens the force of these excellent proofs to some extent by a tendency to wander and to introduce in places matter that is not relevant to the point at issue.

The book is rich in good thinking. Dr Murphy offers his reader some very fair criticism, of the form of modern education, for example, or of the morality that is merely a code of conduct, or of wrong views of the nature of the Church. His book is so full that it needs to be read slowly if it is to be digested. The reader is expected to think out the points for himself. "These essays," writes Dr Murphy, "seek to do no more than open casements for the reader." Occasionally this reader will raise his eyebrows as he ponders the various good and beautiful things in Dr Murphy's garden, at a weed of style here and there, at rather too many "let us", at Plotinus walking with the predecessors of Christ, and at something unusual about the personality of the angelic species whose name is St Michael.

J. CARTMELL

The Book of Infinite Love. Pp. xvi + 129. 5s. *The Sacred Heart and the Priesthood.* Pp. xxxii + 224. 7s. 6d. By Mother Louise Margaret.
The Handbook. Pp. 52. 1s. (All Catholic booksellers in Ireland.)

SAINT MARGARET MARY is known to the world as the Saint of the Sacred Heart; she was God's instrument in leading men back to Him by love in a day when fear, rather than love, tended to predominate. Another nun of the same Visitation Order as St Margaret Mary would seem to have been chosen for a like purpose: Mother

Louise Margaret. Her message is the assurance of God's infinite love in times when world affairs might tempt men to doubt the very existence of Divine Providence. She brings a sense of hope and security for the people of today; and this by her insistence upon one outstanding truth which she affirms as though at the dictation of Jesus Himself.

This holy religious died in the year 1915 at the age of 47. Her life in many ways resembles that of St Margaret Mary in its trials and contradictions, but also in its multitude of spiritual favours. There is every indication that in due time Mother Louise Margaret will take a prominent place among the great servants of God, but for the present great caution is being exercised respecting any semblance of a public cultus, lest harm be done to a cause that seems to bear the marks of heavenly authenticity.

The Book of Infinite Love contains the outpourings of the writer's heart in her apostolate of love, set down in general terms for all pious souls. In *The Sacred Heart and the Priesthood* she speaks in a quite special manner to priests. The chapters are entitled "lectures"; and one can almost imagine the writer addressing the clergy assembled in Retreat, for she deals only with subjects of direct importance to priests in their work for souls. Never was the ideal of the priesthood more strongly emphasized. No priest can read the words of this Visitation nun without being inspired to a life of higher dedication in the ministry that gives him so privileged a claim upon the special care of his Master.

The full title of the third book mentioned above is somewhat overwhelming: *The Handbook of the Priests' Universal Union of the Friends of the Sacred Heart and of the Faithful Friends of Bethany of the Sacred Heart*. That explains itself; and all, both priests and laypeople, who are interested in this modern message to God's ministers will find clearly outlined what is expected of them as faithful members of the new Association.

L. T. H.

PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

